

NIXON'S JURY: THE PEOPLE



"Our RCA color set has been good all along-since 1956."

Mr. and Mrs. William Lustig, Brooklyn, New York.



Actual closed-circuit reception

The Lustigs were delighted when we asked how they've enjoyed owning one of the first RCA color TV sets. "This set is our baby," beamed Mrs. Lustig. "It's always worked fine . . . we've watched it a lot over the years," commented Mr. Lustig. "Very few repairs," added his wife

It's always nice to hear good things about our color and our reliability. To get an expert opinion on the latest RCA achievement-the XL-100s, we showed our portable 15" diagonal XL-100 to a

TV director in Hollywood, Mark Warren. Mark has worked on many television programs. He says about the XL-100, "Quite sharp, brightness is very good

In a studio, technicians "paint" the TV picture electronically so the best possible color can be transmitted to your set at home. Mark says it's frustrating to spend hours getting a decent picture and not be able to see it when he gets home. With this XL-100 portable, Mark says he gets, "the closest repro-

duction of my work that I have seen a Part of the reason is the RCA AccuLine picture tube system-de-



contrast and sharp defin tion. Mark likes the easy AccuMatic IV tuning also

...you get a sharp, bright picture with the preset tuning." That's because a

This RCA XL-100 -"is very close to the color we get on the studio monitor." Mark Warren, TV Director, Hollywood, Cal.



touch of the ACM button automatically brings color, tint, brightness and contrast within a normal range. As Mark says, "It's a no-fuss, no-bother set!" More TV experts own RCA

Mark Warren is one of the many TV professionals who own RCA color TV. The truth is, based on recent nationwide samples, more top TV cameramen, more TV chief engineers, more TV directors and more independent TV service technicians own RCA than any other color TV. And more people own

RCA XL-100 than any other solid state color TV

Isn't it time you looked into an XL-100 for your home? There are more than 50 different XL-100 models, in all the popular screen sizes, with a variety of features. Almost all XL-100s have RCA's best picture tubes ever plus our advanced tuning. Choose yours soon. All are backed by the RCA Purchaser Satisfaction Program.

RCA is color you can count on.

THE NEW XL-100 REAL



Basic is when a car goes a long way on a little gas.

One of the reasons the Model A was so good was that it gave generous gas mileage. No doubt economy has a lot to do with Pinto's popularity, too. And this year all those extra miles per gallon come with a number of improvements. They're all good reasons why the closer you look, the better we look



A bigger engine than last year's: First and foremost is a little bigger 2000cc 4-cylinder overhead cam engine as standard It's been developed for

good gas mileage. And for those of you who want even a bit more pep, there's an optional 2300cc engine.

Refined front and rear suspension: We've refined the suspension both front and rear with a ne package specifically developed for the '74 model.

Better brakes: Standard front disc brakes for '74 give you efficient and fade resistant braking. and little pedal effort.

Other basics: Still standard for '74 is rackand-pinion steering, a 4-speed fully synchronized transmission, a body welded into one solid piece of steel, steel guard rails in the doors, and steel reinforcements in the roof.

See the Pinto at your Ford Dealer's: 2-door sedan, 3-door Runabout, and the popular Pinto Wagon. With improved basics for

When you get back to basics, you get back to Ford.

FORD PINTO

FORD DIVISION FORd



(Shown here: 1974 Pinto Sedan, with optional whitewall tires, accent group, and deluse bumper group.)



If two blades are better than one... try 18 of them.

Some blade-makers are saying that it takes more than one blade to get a close shave.

Norelco's known that for years. We've got 18. And they're not just 18 ordinary blades. They're surgical steel, self-sharpening rotary blades. They fit inside three super Microgroove's floating heads that cling to every curve

1500

and crag of your face.

And they work together with nine closeness comfort settings on the VIP Tripleheader to let you shave as close, as comfortably, as you like.

So close, we dare to match shaves with a blade...or two...or three...

The Nore/co VIP
We dare to match shaves with a blade.

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER Since the Watergate trials and tribulations of the Administration began dominating the news, there have been wide swings in public sentiment about President Nixon, his aides, Senate in-

vestigators and the press. Trying to measure public opinion can be tricky business, and this week scores of TIME reporters

applied themselves to the task. For a special box accompa-

nying our cover story. TIME revisited three dozen citizens whom

we had first interviewed more than five months ago (TIME,

May 28). For the cover story itself, concerned with the mood

of America after the latest Watergate developments, TIME re-

porters round the country sought the views of hundreds of cit-

lanta Bureau Chief James Bell, most people seemed not only

willing to talk, but eager to be heard. In fact, only one of all

the Southerners approached by TIME-a shopper in Miami -declined to talk. Many of the individual interviews drew on-

lookers into the discussion. In a New Orleans neighborhood bar, for example, the quiet questioning of patrons by one re-

porter quickly turned into a spirited political seminar that in-

states. In addition, Duncan conducted interviews himself, questioning among others a cattleman, a small-town banker, a former Nixon Administration official and Duncan's own daughter-about the sentiments of her eighth-grade history class.

In Los Angeles, Bureau Chief Richard Duncan assigned reporters to sound the public's temper throughout the Western

Midwest Bureau Chief Gregory Wierzynski, whose reporters covered the heartland, found that people were openly discussing the possibility of presidential impeachment. He detected a shift in the public's attitude toward the press. "In the early days of Watergate," says Wierzynski, "I used to get chewed

out regularly about press irresponsibility, particularly when talking to partisan Republicans. For the most part, recent events

The never-ending flow of surprising news events caused some unexpected difficulties. Boston Bureau Chief Sandra Burton, who with her reporters was responsible for the New Eng-land states, spent the early part of the week conducting interviews around Plymouth, Mass.—an area symbolic not only as the landing place of the Pilgrims but also as the only congressional district in Massachusetts to cast its lot with Nixon in 1972. When it was revealed at midweek that two Watergate

tapes were missing, Burton was forced to conduct her interviews a second time to see how opinions had changed New York Bureau Chief Marsh Clark took charge of covering the rest of the Eastern states. "It was an interesting week for me," said Clark, who had recently been on special assignment covering the Middle East war. "I returned from Jerusalem on Monday and started working on this story Tuesday. I found the complexities of the domestic political war no less chal-

cluded Tulane University teachers and local taxi drivers.

In the South, where TIME reporters were directed by At-

izens from all walks of life

have stilled the lectures.



RICHARD DUNCAN



GREG WIERZYNSKI



JAMES BELL





lenging than those of the Middle East. Ralph P. Davdson

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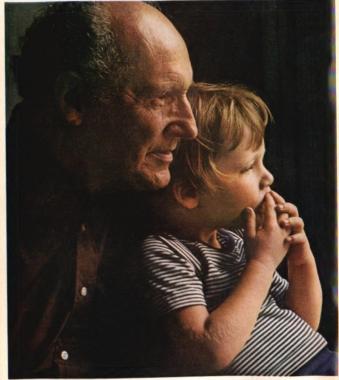
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ROBLESTEN

ON WHISH

LETTERS.

The Final Straw

Sir / This is the final straw

For months. I have been deeply concerned about the lawlessness and immorality of the Nixon Administration. But now, with the firing of Archibald Cox (Oct. 29), President Nixon has revealed in even sharper focus his obsession with power and lack of sound judgment.

No man, not even the President, is above the law and the courts that uphold

the law.

I believe the only recourse now is impeachment.

BEVERLY BUNZOW Portland, Orc.

Sir / It is not surprising that Mr. Nixon would fire his employees Cox and Ruck-leshaus and force the resignation of Rich-ardson. These are men of principle and stature, each regarding the law with reverence and humility. Based on President Nixon's past associations, it is understandable that he would be uncomfortable in

such company.

Ironically, Mr. Nixon has shown his employers, We the People, just how easy it

is to fire someone.

MICHAEL MCCARTY

Sir / I can see no other reasonable interpretation of President Nixon's firing of Prosecutor Cox but an admission of Nixon's Bersonal guilt and complicity in Watergate. I hope that Nixon will ultimately be exposed and dealt with appropriately through the courage of other men. If not, then our democracy is surely lost.

JAMES W. ULRICH

Sir / You write in reference to Spiro Agnew (Oct. 22]: "For nearly five years a man mortally and intellectually unfit for national leadership had Oct." Big deal. For nearly five years a man morally and intellectually unfit for national leadership has been in the Owal Office.

MERI DITH WHEELER Stanford Calif

Sir / We who worked in the McGovern campaign stressed chiefly the antiwar and pro-people issues. Now the nation knows that the real issue of that campaign has finally emerged: decency.

VAUGHN KENDRICK Barrington, III.

The Agnew Affair

Sir / Mr. Agnew's affair [Oct. 22] clearly showed the importance of the watchdog function of a free press in a democratic society. Congratulations for your action. BUI BARBOSA DE OLIVEIRA.

São Paulo, Brazil

Sir / Anybody interested in a slightly tarnished, nonfunctional Spiro Agnew wristwatch? The only problem is the hands seem to be frozen in an upward clasping position. RALPHS. WELSH Bridgeport. Conn.

Sir / Said Mr. Agnew: "Perhaps judged by the new post-Watergate political morality." he did permit his fund-raising and contractdispensing activities to overlap in an unchival and unlawful manner.

Rubbish! There is no new post-Water-

When politics closed the door on Havana tobacco, we found new sources of quality leaf. Our long filler, for example, from the Caribbean area rivals the Cuban tobacco in flauor, taste and aroma.

When technology introduced short-cuts and substitutes, we allowed modern industry to pass us by in Pering cigain 15° and up, we don't use chopped up tobacco filter, as others began diding, we use only natural long-legis filter, instead to finding our cigars in reconstituted tobacco sheet in order to save money, we use only natural leaf binder—no paper headstrips. And we use only natural leaf wrapper.

And while this inflation nibbled away at the dollar, we held out until the last possible moment. Our famous Bering Plaza has just gone up 1% cents—its only price increase in 29 years.

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How Bering fought technology, politics and inflation to preserve our all tobacco, long filler cigar.





THE WOMEN DON'T WALK IN RIO.

Watch

You'll see what we mean

That sway of the hip. The little syncopation of the feet. The reverse sway of the shoulder. Can you hear the samba?

The men of Rio have the rhythm in their step, too. But if to walk here is to dance, to talk is to make music. Of all languages, Portuguese is perhaps the

most lilting, soft, seductive

There is other music, too. From the boys who play samba on the beach at Iganema. (Where are seen the world's most well-developed bodies and undergrown bikinis.) From the icceream man who drums a metal samba on his cart. From the nightelubs, where you'll see instruments, hear sounds, and wasten hip movements you never knew existed. (Don't bother to wear a tie—casual clothes will get you a table and awarm welcome even in the most elegant places.)

Does it sound as though the Cariocas live for pleasure?

They do.

But then, in Rio, it's so easy to find. Without ever leaving the city, you can be thrilled by the views from

five different mountaintops. Swim and sun at a whole coastline of clear, warm ocean, and sugary sand.

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You can wander through history, among Portuguese Colonial confections in architecture.

Or sit still in a cafe on one of Rio's wavy-patterned sidewalks. Sip a rum batida. And lazily watch a very beautiful world not walk by.

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Sincerely,

Warren M. Pace President

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LETTERS

gate political morality any more than there is a new post-Watergate Ten Command-ments. Some things always have been wrong if some of our political leaders thought and

> HUGO W. SCHROEDER SR. Randallstown, Md.

Sir / I am struck by the fundamental inconsistency inherent in the position Agnew takes. In one breath he attacks the practice of "plea bargaining." under which he charges four witnesses against him in the Mary land grand jury proceeding were granted some form of immunity in exchange for their testimony, and in the next he attempts to justify his own plea of nolo contendere and acceptance of a slap-on-the-wrist sen tence. This contrived arrangement repre L.D. BARNHART

Berrien Springs. Mich.

Sir / Agnew gave us his own epitaph in 1969: "We can, however, afford to separate them from our society-with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel DAYTON W. HULL

Garrett Park, Md.

Sir / In return for his candid approach to the great issues of the day. Agnew has been mocked, falsely accused and publicly humiliated. He has been unfairly tried by a kangaroo court, the jury being the press. And his own Government has turned on him as a scapegoat for others' misdeeds America's treatment of one of her fin est sons will forever remain a blight on her conscience

KEVIN P. I YNCH Edina, Minn.

The Ford Nomination

Sir / The White House affair to announce the nomination of Representative Gerald taste. A sad, disgraceful event was topped off by a festive social celebration. It would have been more appropriate to go to

BICHARD C. BYRD

Sir / The Nixon Government is still under investigation. Until its problems, consisting are resolved, the Nixon Government has not the legitimacy to participate in the se-lection of a Vice President, or in any other constitutional act devolving on the Execu-EUGENE WERNTZ

Marina, Calif.

Topeka, Kans

Sir / Regrettably, Mr. Ford is of vice-pres-

Sir / Perhaps Mr. Ford can help restore our trust and confidence, but it is very doubtful. Only the President can do that, and he

is not about to do so. ROBERT H. EISENBERG Stratford, Conn.

The Senseless War

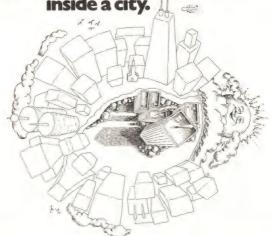
Sir / Another horrendous, senseless war! What have the Arabs to gain? Unfortunate ly they have no national pride and can only rally with a war cry against Israel. Is it not strange that the oil-rich and



Grant and The

Pinget

IC Industries is building a new city inside a city.

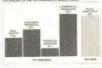


It's the 83-acre Illinois Center development in downtown Chicago. A \$1.3 tality. Where 35,000 people will live. And 45,000 will work. In a progressively planned environment.

IC Industries sold some of the land and will retain equity interest in part of the joint venture development. Office buildings, condominiums and hotels will be linked by a four-level base of shops, parks and transportation corridors. All designed as the ultimate in urban lifestyle.

Our Real Estate Group of six experienced companies is into other innovative projects from Illinois to Florida. Planning some, Managing others. As well as providing financing, marketing, consulting and development services. Real estate isn't the only market under development at IC Industries.

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And rapidly growing consumer markets with Pepsi-Cola, Dad's Root Beer. Midas-International automotive shops and Midas recreational vehicles.

Today about 71% of our pre-tax income comes from these markets, the other 29% from our consistently profitable transportation group.

IC Industries' sales and revenues increase from \$300 million in 1967 to a current annual rate of over \$1 billion. And helped earnings per common

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Lee Goldboss adds, "You go around to a lot of banks and they plug you into the same old formula. You have to score so many points or it's no go. But it's

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Sir / One sure way to fragment America further is to continue to supply Israel milwith both Arab and Jew. We and the Ruswithout their territory-grabbing tactics and the Arabs without their guerrilla terrorism. ROBERT L. KEALY

Oconomowoc, Wis.

Sir / It is tempting to dismiss arguments against cutting the military budget as "Pen-tagon propaganda." But the Middle East conflict demonstrates again that the Sovi ets have developed highly sophisticated the high casualty rate resulting from Isra-el's waiting for the other side to strike first illustrates the human cost that is ultimately paid when-rightly or wrongly-other pri SIMEON H.F. GOLDSTEIN New York City

Democracy in Chile

Sir / While many things reported in your articles about Chile are correct. I think you missed two main points. First, without milhad no chance of surviving. Secondly, beyond a doubt, the military junta today has the support of the vast majority of the in-habitants of Chile, probably 75% plus.

Sir / It would really be interesting to know what TIME's definition of "democracy" really is. If what we were living under for the past three years in Chile was a democracy. then I prefer to live under a military

IIII MYERS Santiago

Uneasy Pedestal

Sir / As Paul Tillich's personal secretary learn of the acutely personal revelations in Hannah Tillich's book about life with Pauthink her demythologizing will undoubtedof his writings, with the added insight that anguish at being much too human Thank you, Hannah, Paulus never feli

at all comfortable on that uneasy pedestal

Ministry for Women

Sir / The loud-shouting females who make up the "Episcopal Women's Caucus" rep-resent no one but themselves. Had the

TIME, NOVEMBER 12, 1973

The \$87,553.00 bottle of rum:



Before the first bottle of Rum Casa de Goes was filled, Senor Rudollo Goes insisted that certain steps be taken. These included the purchase of expensive copper pots for drop-by-drop distilling; a thoroughly outfitted testing laborators for constant quality checks; and the acquiring of charred white coak eachs to insure smooth aging.

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degree of smoothness

Those who tasted it along the way were cager to see it on the market, as were his Sankers, but Senor Goes was insistent. Now they are glad that he was, because from the day the first bottle (at a cost of \$87,553.00") went on the market, Rum Casa de Goes was acclaimed as one of the world's truly great spirits. On the rocks or with a splash of plain soda the taste of Rum Casa de Goes was acclaimed as one of the world's truly great.



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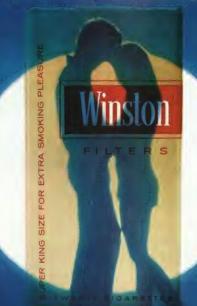
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PETTERS

scheme of the would be priestesses at the recent Louisville convention [Oct. 15] been brought to fruition, the church would have split and the cause of Christ would have spiit and the cause of Christ would have been dealt a grievous blow. Neither God nor the church has "turned down" these people. The church has always provided a myriad of ministries for women, which are both orthodox insofar as their theology is concerned and appropriate for the special skills and backgrounds that women alone can supply. We need nuns and we need the work of many women on such things as church school programs, altar guilds and as teachers in our growing school system as

> (THE REV.) G.D. WIEBE Assisting Priest and Archivist Trinity Episcopal Church San Francisco

Sir / Your Oct. 15 account of what you call "Episcopalian Backlash" at the 64th General Convention of the Episcopal Church troubles me. Your reportage of the facts is not untrue. But your interpretation of those facts seems perverse. Because, as you saw it. "the Episcopalians abruptly applied the brakes to innovation" at Louisville. you assume that this is a lapse into conservatism. Many of us regard it as a rise to responsibility.

The word backlash in your headline is

inaccurate and snide.

CARROLL E. SIMCOX Living Church

Sir / As a woman and an Episcopalian, I found it distressing that the Episcopal Church would be so puritanical in its views against women becoming priests, or should

I say priestesses?
I fully believe that the Episcopal
Church needs women as ministers. Women have a deep-seated respect for religion and

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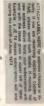
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When the good people of Omaha wanted to recycle their glass bottles and jars, they found that many interesting uses for used glass

had recently been developed. So they got in touch with the experts.

So they go to touch with release and what they did made history. They collected 300,000 glass containers. They had them crushed, mixed them with paving material, and used the resulting glasphaft to re-surface a six-lane block of busy 15th Street with a good-looking surface that's as durable as they come.

Today, used glass can go into construction panels, bricks, terrazzo, insulation and reflective paints. As well as go back to industry where it ends up in new glass containers.

where it ends up in new glass containers. Glass is about 73% sand, And that makes it an ideal environmental package. But to consumers, it's much more. They like the fact that glass lets them see what they're buying. They like its purity, its re-selability, its inerness that protects the faste of food and beverages. To them, there's no question that glass is a natural. For a copy of "The glass

container story," write: Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, Dept. F. 1800 K St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006





he quality of brandy depends on wine. Thats why we insist on making our own wines from choice grapes, vor. Then comes our special way of distilling: our way of aging in small oaken casks. Sip after sip has our unique, light, mellow flavor, for each bottle of The Christian Brothers Brandy is produced by us with the same care and pride. Whether you enjoy it in a mixed drink, or in a snifter, you will always enjoy the consistent good taste that is ours alone A tradition of quality we will never change

Brother Timothy J.S.C. CELLARMASTER, THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS

LETTERS

belief and faith in God in their daily lives, more so than some of these men who claim they preach the word of God.

MS. BEVERLY A. DIXON Pittsburgh

Sack on Calley

Sir / William Calley at My Lai was freewilled, responsible, culpable and individually guilty. There, I said it. True, as you say in your review of my book The Man-Eat-ing Machine [Oct. 22], I wrote: "Calley was nothing but a brass instrument that it (the massacre order) was trumpeted through. But the sentence states that it seemed that way to Calley, not me.

I reject—and Calley does too, now —the philosophy that in our technological system we are less responsible for My Lais. I say, quite dissimilarly, that in our system human beings are intolerable intrusions that —by inches usually, or with dispatch, as at My Lai-we choose to eliminate.

Los Angeles

Oates on Marriage

Sir / In her review of my novel Do with Me What You Will [Oct. 15]. Martha Duffy states categorically that I portray marriage as damaging to women, causing their break-downs. This is absolutely untrue. Some marriages are stifling, and thwart the individual's natural growth; but there are other marriages, healthy marriages, that allow both individuals their fulfillment. I am most upset that so perverse a belief should be at-tributed to me, since I have been married for 13 years. There is enough vicious, absurd anti-male and anti-marriage propagan da in America today without Mrs. Dully's JOYCE CAROL DATES

Windsor, Ont.

Tribute to Auden

Sir / Thanks for calling attention in your Sir / Thanks for casting attention in your fine article to the "streams of translations" poured out by W.H. Auden [Oct. 8]. In trying to further the one-tongue aspect of world poetry. Poet Auden's translation of the Icelandic Elder Edda has gone a long way. He kept both mode of thought and the long alliterative line and stress count. Translations draw us together The poets of Alaska mourn Auden's

death MARGARET G. MULKE

Chugiak, Alaska

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

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Some people think dams are bad. They flood valuable farm land, force whole villages to move and submerge historical sites and wildlife habitat. The arguments are worth listening to.

Ironically our high standard of living resulted from a hard-charging way of thinking that often failed to consider the effects of our actions on environment. Today we are more inclined to weigh environmental effects as well as the consumer involved.

Take the Mississippi River flood control system for instance, work on the project began in 1928—before most of us heard of ecology. Encompassing 2,200 miles of levees and overflow basins, the project is now 80% complete. It shelters over 10 million acres of flood plains and ecost \$1.8 billion to date:

But, during the floods of '73 this project alone saved more than \$7 billion in crop losses—over three times its initial cost.

The saving includes over two hundred million bushels of soybeans, two million bales of cotton and one hundred million bushels of rice that would have been flooded out.

If those farm commodities had been lost it could very well have meant even higher prices on many things from underwear to beefsteak.

No one believes we should dam every rivulet and stream. Rechannel every river. But neither can we deny the value of flood control and water management. Those projects should remain high on the nation's list of things to do. But with full consideration of all long range results. To find out more, write: "Water: Dept. 3078T, Caterpillar Tractor Co., Peoria, Illinois 61602.

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But we look upon your money in a different light. We want you to hang on to it. We want you to save it because that's the safest and most rewarding way of hanging on to it. We sell nothing except the age-old idea of thrift. So while we realize you must spend money for necessities, we also realize that every individual, every family, needs a financial nest egg. For the children's education. For a down payment on a home. For a truly sunny and worry-free retirement. And yes, even for that proverbial rainy day.

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Overlooking the shores of Lake Michiga at a point where Randolph Street is being extended towards the lake, Harbor Point is only a short walk from North Michigan Avenue. Which means it's only moments away from shopping, restaurants, theatres, and just about anything else.

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— HARBOR POINT —

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The Fisher



An Editorial

The President Should Resign

Richard Nixon and the nation have passed a tragic point of no return. It now seems likely that the President will have to give up his office he has irredeemably lost his moral authority, the confidence of most of the country, and therefore his ability to govern effectively.

The most important decision of Richard Nixon's remarkable career is before him: whether he will give up the presidency rather than do further damage to his country. If he decides to fight to the end, he faces impeachment by the House, for he has indeed failed his obligation under the Constitution to uphold the law. Whether two-thrises of the Senate would vote to convict him cannot be certain. But even if he were to be acquitted, the process would cave him and the country demanded the would be brought out under subpocna power at an impeachment trial could strike in many unforescen and dangerous directions.

Moreover, a trial would take at least several months, during would be virtually leaderless. The White House would be paralyzed while the U.S. and the world awaited the outcome. The Republic would doubtless survive. But the wise and partotic course is for Richard Nixon to resign, sparing the country

and himself this agony

ion should of course he succeeded by a Republican. The Republicans did win the presidency last November tool because of Watergate or dirty tricks, and fortunately there seems no disposition among congressional Democrats to try to rewrite the election returns. We assume and hope that Congress will speedily confirm Gerald Ford's nomination as Vice President. If Nixon confirm Gerald Ford's nomination as Vice President. If Nixon became President, there is good reason to think that Albert would resign as long as Ford was confirmed.

Gerald. Ford would be an unmissiakable improvement over the girevoully wounded Nixon. Barring some unforesone revelations. Ford has the immense asset of a corruption-free reputation. He has a solid if unimagaintie record in domestic policy, stands somewhere near the American center, and is greatly liked and respected on Captod Hill. In foreign affairs, he to which limitsions, as the example of Harry Truman demonstrates. With Henry Stainger's help, Ford should be able to carry on the basically sound Nixon policies. He would have one overriding advantage in dealing with foreign powers: their certainty that Ford would be in the White House for at least three more years. Nixon's great stainties about his future and his patient loss of power at home.

It was just one year ago this week that Richard Nixon was celebrating his fabulous electoral sweep and seemed to stand at the very summit of power and opportunity. Hard-core Nixon haters may gloat over his fall from those heights; for most Americans it is a matter of profound disappointment. The editors of Time Inc., speaking on the editorial page of TIME's sister publication LIFE. have endorsed Nixon for President three times, in 1960, 1968 and 1972. We did so with acknowledgments that aspects of the Nixon record and temperament were troubling, but we believed that his strengths of intellect and experience and his instinct for political leadership equipped him well for the office. In endorsing Nixon in 1972, following on his first-term achievements in foreign policy, we expressed a hope that by the end of his second term we could "salute him as a great President." Thus we come with deep reluctance to our conclusion that he must leave office. We consider the situation so unprecedented, the issue so crucial to the country. that we publish this first editorial in TIME's 50-year history

In the almost daily rush of revelations, it is not easy for the

Despite ample instances of past Government corruption, nothing can be found in U.S. history even morebly approaching the skein of events that the word Watergate no longer defines or contains. A Vice President, twice personally behen by Nixon, forced to resign to escape jail. A former Autorney General and intimate advance to Nixon under indistinguish and the contains of the presidential aides under indistinguish and the contains of the presidential aides under indistinguish and the contains and the presidential aides under indistinguish indicted. convicted or having pleaded guilty, seven more fired or resigned. Most of them shown to have been eiter in charge of or aware of, illegic operations. The whole White House personal by in a stinosphere of agreesive amortially—as much of the as a possible from the quellic and investigations.

The question that once seemed so important—Did the President know about the cover-up?—was always somewhat beside the point. Whatever he knew or did not know, he must be held accountable for the actions of his top ades and the standards he established the point of the action of his top and the action of his contract of the standards here almost impossible from the start to answer it in the President's flavor: the men involved were too close to him to make his ignorance plausible: after initial indignant denials, each of his later explanations gradually admitted more knowledge, thereby compared to the cannot think of any organization, public or private—including some dictatorships—where a Chief Executive could sur-

vive in office after such a performance

The catalogue of the President's involvement in illegal or grossly improper acts has become all too familiar. He approved the socalled Huston plan, which permitted illegal means (including burglary) to combar radicals. He established the "priumbers" unit, cuterably to plug leaks, and it used lilegals. He impeded an investigation of the plumbers on specious national-accurity grounds while his aides tried to use the C1A and F1B to help the cover-upleh had a plo offer (chief of the rail adingle before the judge presiding over the trial of Paniel Eliberg. He withheld knowledge of month. His aides offered Executive clemency to some of the Watergate defendants: others, including his personal lawyer, used campaign contributions for payments to Watergate defendants.

President Nixon's most recent actions come as a staggering climax to all that went before. We devought hope that it is the climax. When he originally refused to hand over the White House tapes either to the Senate Watergate committee or to Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, his argument for the confidentation. Then the court marrowed the issue in such a way that confidentation could be largely safeguarded only the globe was to hear the tapes, and only for the purpose of deciding whether any parts were potential evidence of the court marrowed the issue in such a way that confidentation to the court marrowed the issue in such a way that confidentation could be already safeguarded only the lage was to hear the tapes, and only for the purpose of deciding whether any parts were potential evidence of the court of the country o

promise" under which summaries would be provided (they would not hold up as evidence in court, and Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox was to be forbidden any further recourse to the courts in seeking presidential papers. Cox sensibly refused, and was promptly fired in flagrant violation of the President's piedge to the Senate, through then-Automory General-designations of the Corporation of the Corporation of the Corporation of the Corporation of Richardson and the dismissal of his principal assistant, honorable men

who both refused to carry out the President's order to fire Cox After an outpouring of indignation from Congress and country. which saw Nixon as defying the courts and setting himself above the law, came the President's abrupt reversal and his decision to hand the tapes to the court after all. And only a few days ago. there was the sudden claim that two crucial tapes do not exist

Now the President has found a new Attorney General and a new special prosecutor, equipped with not quite convincing promises of independence. Both are reputable men, but it seems to us that these appointments, or even the possible appointment of a prosecutor by the court, can no longer clear away the hopeless miasma of deceit and suspicion

he right of free men to choose their leaders is precious and rare in a world mainly ruled by authoritarian governments. It is the genius of the American Constitution that it combines stability with liberty: it does so in part by fixing a term for the Chief Executive and largely protecting him from the caprices of parliamentary governments. An American President must be given the widest freedom of action, the utmost tolerance, the most generous benefit of every doubt. It is a system that has served us well

A President's Gallup rating can fluctuate as much as the Dow Jones. He may push unpopular programs or oppose popular ones Being a political as well as a national leader, he may dissemble within more or less accepted political limits. His Administration may be touched by corruption, provided that he does not condone it. He may make mistakes, many of them. He may fight the other branches of Government, for this is sometimes necessary to get things done. None of these matters-especially since they are always subject to partisan interpretation-are sufficient in themselves to justify the removal of a President

Yet there is a limit beyond which even such "permissible" offenses, even such instances of "mere" misgovernment, become intolerable. And the situation changes fundamentally when the effect of the President's actions and the actions of his appointees is to subvert the constitutional system itself. He then betrays his formal oath of office and his informal compact with the people

There are legitimate fears about the precedent that would be set by the President's resignation or impeachment. In two centuries, no American President has been removed from office other than by death or the voters' will. Once the spell is broken, would it become too easy for political opponents of any future President to oust him? We think not. Watergate is unique. In fact, the really dangerous precedent would be the opposite: to allow a President with Nixon's record to continue in office. This would be a terrible circumstance to lodge in our history, a terrible thing to explain to our children and their children

In recent decades, the American presidency has assumed an almost sacrosanct aura. It is time to remember that quite literally. and not as a flourish of speech, the sovereign in America is not the President but the people. It is true that the people elect him. which gives him his unique mandate, but to conclude from this that a President must be preserved in all circumstances, at any cost, is the first unwitting step toward dictatorship

As Watergate and related events emerged in congressional hearings and in the press, many patriotic Americans were nagged by a sense of disproportion. Crookedness and corner cutting? Yes Crimes? No doubt-but after all, as the phrase went, was killed." How could these acts, however shady or offensive, be weighed against the life-and-death responsibilities of the President? This rationalization will not stand; a President's "big decisions" cannot be put into a compartment separate from his other actions, his total behavior. His integrity and trustworthiness are perhaps the most important facts about him to his country and to the world. And these Nixon has destroyed

The nightmare of uncertainty must be ended. A fresh start must be made. Some at home and abroad might see in the President's resignation a sign of American weakness and failure. It would be a sign of the very opposite. It would show strength and health. It would show the ability of a badly infected political system to cleanse itself. It would show the true power of popular government under law in America









THE CRISIS

The Mystery of the Missing Tapes

Struggling to recover his balance, Richard Nixon last week stumbled into yet another Watergate morass. Now it was the mystery of the missing tapes. Conceded one of his closest legal advisers: "We've created a credibility cul-de-sac of such monstrous dimensions that even the most innocent transaction appears suspect.

This particular transaction unreeled just as one of Watergate's long-awaited moments of truth finally seemed to be at hand. Nixon had vigorously protected nine recordings of his White House conversations through three painful months of litigation. His fight had precipitated a constitutional collision and had done much to undermine the claim that he was determined to "set forth the facts" about the scandal. But under overwhelming public pressure after the "Saturday Night Massacre" at his Justice Department, he had grudgingly agreed to yield to the demand of prosecutors and the courts. He would give up his nine tapes. Then, as he was about to do so last week, came the incredible admission: Nixon's lawyers told Federal Judge John J. Sirica that two of the mostwanted tapes did not even exist The disclosure moved Sirica to be-

gin open hearings at once into the circumstances of the tapes' being or nonbeing and inspired a new surge of protest telegrams, which deluged official Washington with fresh demands that Nixon must leave office. Even some of Nixon's least likely critics turned against him. Columnist Joseph Alsop, ardent champion of the President's foreign policies, said that he must resign. Howard K. Smith. ABC-TV's highly independent commentator, declared that the tapes revelation "deepens suspicion inevitably

that there has been a cover-up all along and it is still going on." Nixon, he said must quit or be impeached

Conservative Republicans too worried that the limits of public tolerance had been passed. Nixon's credibility. said Senator Barry Goldwater, "has reached an alltime low from which he may never recover." The President, insisted New York Senator James Buckley, now "has the clear burden of satisfying the American people that he has been speaking the truth."

No Certainty. Indeed, so universal was the dismay in Republican ranks that it produced a rare concert of behind-thescenes congressional arm twisting of the White House: on terms virtually dictated to him by the Senate Republican leadership, Nixon approved the appointment of a new special prosecutor. replacing the dismissed Archibald Cox, and chose a new Attorney General to succeed the resigned Elliot Richardson (see stories beginning on page 40).

Those concessions were largely lost in the explosion over the disclosure that two of Nixon's tapes-recordings once viewed as crucial to the truth about Watergate-were not to be found. In making that admission, Presidential Special Counsel Fred Buzhardt predicted: "By the end of this hearing, we will have established with mathematical certainty beyond any doubt that those two tape recordings were never made." After three days of testimony before Judge Sirica, with more to come this week, no such certainty seemed yet in sight

The two tapes in question were of potentially great importance. One was a brief telephone conversation between Former Attorney General John Mitchell and Nixon on June 20, 1972, apparent-

ly the first communication between the two intimate associates after the arrests at Democratic national headquarters three days earlier. Prosecutor Cox had especially wanted to hear this tape because Mitchell had apparently just been briefed about the participation in the Watergate espionage of G. Gordon Liddy, counsel to Nixon's re-election finance committee. Mitchell claimed that he did not tell Nixon about Liddy -who at that point had not yet been arrested-much less about his own role and that of other high officials in Liddy's wiretap plans. To many investigators, that seemed most unlikely.

Buzhardt told Sirica that the Mitcheli conversation was not recorded because Nixon had made the call on a telephone not connected to the extensive secret White House recording system. The White House claims that the President used a hall telephone in his residential quarters

The Sirica hearings centered mainly on the other missing tape," one that was believed to have been made of a conversation on April 15, 1973 between Nixon and his fired former counsel, John Dean. In that talk, Dean has testified. Nixon admitted he had been "foolish" in discussing Executive clem-

"The other tapes include a June 20, 1972 meeting at which Notion first discussed the Watergate at streets with Audion 20, 1972 meeting at which Notion on all Indeas Michael discussed Michael to easier which Notion and John Michael discussed Michael to recording to Dean. Notion congratitude firm on receiting in Pean. Notion congratitude firm on Nation fiest mentioned tillene money and clement of the Nation of the Nation Nation (See Michael 20, 1972) and Nation Nation fiest mentioned tillene money and clement with the Nation of the Nation Nation fiest mentioned tillene money and clement with the Nation Nation fiest mentioned tillene money and clement with the Nation Nation Nation (Nation Nation *The other tapes include: a June 20, 1972 mer vestigation were discussed on March 22, 1973

the state of the s

Later, he suggested that since nor-mally there was a half-hour delay while the timer activated the back-up record-er. Dean's conversation might have taken place in that dead interval. When he length of the conversation was pointed out, Zumwait suddenly recalled that the changeover timer was set to operate only aix days a week, since a single status of the conversation of the conversa

The White House alides thus claimed that the first red had simply run out because the President had been unusually busy on that Staturday. White House Archivist John Nesbitt, who logs every lixon meeting, produced records accounting for more than five hours of the first owner of the first owner of the first owner of the first owner. White months are all the first owners have been always to be a first owner of the first owner owners are first owners. When the had reconstructed parts of that days log some three months later—on July 26, three days after Cox Mad announced he would subpecent the

nine tapes. Buzhardt said that he had ordered the revision of the log because of conflicting statements about who had consumed the President's time that day.

Also baffling was the fact that the carton in which the Saturday-Sunday tape apparently had been kept was marked Part I, suggesting strongly that there had been a Part II. White House Aide Stephen Bull, who had supervised the recording operation, said that he had made the Part I notation on the assumption that "there had to be another rest." The earting was also marked in the part of the

As mysterious as the nonexistence of the two tapes is the White House failure to admit long ago that they did not exist, thus avoiding at least part of the latest crisis of credibility. Buzhardt said that he had only positively determined the absence of the tapes on Oct. 27, as he prepared the material for Sirica's inspection. Yet Bull testified that Nixon himself had noted the omissions as he listened to recordings on Sept. 29, be-fore he had decided to yield the tapes.

Investigators were incredulous that the discovery had not been made much earlier The amazingly sloppy Secret Service record of how the tapes had been handled-some notations of withdrawals were scribbled on scraps of brown wrapping paper, and the returns never noted at all-indicated that Bull had withdrawn 26 reels of tapes on June 4. 1973-the day that Nixon spent nearly twelve hours listening to them. The critical April 15 date was covered by these withdrawals, and it would be astonishing if Nixon spent all of that listening time without trying to hear that vital conversation

The Watergate investigators intend to subpoena Nixon's tapes for June 4 —on the ingenious theory that as he listened to the various tapes in his Executive Office Building hideaway his automatically activated recording sys-

tem may have picked up the playing of the other tapes. Only if Nixon had listened through headphones would these early recordings be inaudible on the June 4 tape. Buzhardt said in court that the June 4 tape would not be surrendered because "it's not relevant."

Into Isolation. The April 15 date was also covered in a withdrawal of nine reels between July 9 and July 11 by Bull, who gave them to H.R. Haldeman, Nixon's former chief of staff. Bull also said that he checked out 22 tapes on April 25 and 26 and had given them to Haldeman-a surprising fact that Haldeman had not reported in his Senate Watergate testimony. Haldeman has admitted listening to only two tapes (Sept. 15 and March 21). He has been subpoenaed for questioning this week in the Sirica hearings. Further confusing the matter. Senate investigators insisted that Bull told them that Buzhardt had listened to the April 15 tape in late June. Bull testified last week that he had been 'educated" that Buzhardt had actually heard a March 20 recording.

Amid the new controversy. Nixon cretrasted ever more into isolation, rest-leasly retreating to Camp David, then abruptly departing for Key Biscayne. He left behind his usual traveling aides, Al-exander Haig and Ronald Ziegler, and for the first time, the permanent stand-by pool of seven White House correspondents and photographers who are traditionally near the President at all times.

In Florida, Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren said that Nixon would be willing to produce for the court the tane of a memo he dictated about the April 15 conversation with Dean-although Nixon's version is hardly apt to satisfy any of the many Watergate investigators. Some are openly skeptical of the White House claims and suspect that the missing April 15 tape might have been destroyed when Haldeman had it in his possession in July. Warren insisted that Nixon was determined "to clear up this matter" of the tapes and again felt compelled to reiterate that Nixon had no intention of resigning.



The Jury of the People Weighs Nixon

For only the second time in U.S. history, the American people seriously confront the possibility of the impeachment or forced resignation of a President. It is a painful, lacerating process-as agonizing for them as it may ultimately he for the stricken President. Though a few are gleeful about the possible removal of an old enemy, most face the prospect with considerable foreboding, a profound sense of loss for themselves, their country, their history. A majority still do not favor impeachment, though it is openly discussed everywhere. But many hope that Richard Nixon, in a final presidential act, will resign

His support is steadily crumbling. It is not too surprising that the liberal Atlanta Constitution would react to the missing tapes episode by calling it a "preposterous hoax," or that more than 200 political scientists would form a group to promote impeachment, or that the Society of Friends in Seattle sent a letter to the President "prayerfully" asking him to leave office, or that a poll of 393 Yale alumni and their wives showed that 70% favored an inquiry into impeachment. What is more ominous for Nixon is the collapse of some of his most loyal props. In a striking about-face, the pro-Nixon Detroit News urged the President to resign "to spare the nation three more years of turmoil and political vendetta." Admitting that the nation was in the midst of a "classic crise de régime." William F. Buckley's conservative National Review concluded that the President must step down if he no longer enjoys the support of the majority of the people. Buckley himself predicted that Nixon will resign.

There is a feeling that the republic is being tested more than at any other time since the Civil War. In a sense, the whole country is turning into a civics class to re-examine the American sitnation. Many teachers worry about the impact of Watergate on their pupils. At a Halloween party in a New York City Catholic school, the prize for the scarjest costume went to an eleven-year-old girl wearing a Nixon mask. Helen Wise. president of the National Education Association, wrote the President: "Teachers are asking me how they can fulfill their responsibilities of teaching young people the moral, ethical and spiritual values required in a free society while the President of the U.S. disregards the nation's traditionally high standards of morality.

Other teachers report a resurgence of interest in American government. "Watergate has created a new enthusiasm among the kids," says Vivian Snyder, who teaches high school history in Atlanta. "Far more than before, they want to take the initiative and do something about it all." On a class assignment, one 13-year-old hit the Manhattan streets to take his own poll of adults tof 75 New Yorkers he questioned, 77% favored impeachment). At Chicago's suburban New Trier West High School, Janice Berman displayed two symbols to her civics classes. To the one, a picture of Nixon, they responded with frowns. To the other, the seal of the presidency, they replied with cheers. It is obviously possible for Americans—young and old—to make a distinction between the two.

In an effort to determine how the American people were responding to their President's problems, senior TIME correspondents conducted a nationwide survey last week. They found differences from one region to the next; New England was most ready to see Nixon resign or be impeached, the South most willing to forgive his flawed stewardship or even defend him as the victim of his critics Everywhere there were Americans who still applaud his achievements in foreign policy, and particularly in finally ending the Viet Nam War. But the dominant mood was a growing sense of dismay, disenchantment, despair, and a willingness to recognize if not approve that the President may sooner or later have to step down

THE EAST

New York Bureau Chief Marsh Clark is responsible for New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. He reports:

People are traumatized, cynical, bored and exhausted. They wish Watergate would go away. Though they have little stomach for impeachment, a surprising number, their minds numbed by the constant bombardment of bad news from Washington, hope President Nixon will solve the crisis by resigning.

It takes no extrasensory perception to divine the public mood, though Beatrice Schmidt, a parapsychologist in Greentree, Pa., predicts that Nixon may

THE COMMITTE TO IMPEACE THE PRESIDENT GENONITIATING WITH PLACARDS OUTSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE

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From A Subsidiary of

THE NATION

"stagger along for a year and then resign." Others give him less time. W. Harry Sayen, G.O.P. chairman in Mercer County, N.J., thinks that Nixno loyalists have tried to "hang on and hang on to his believability. But something snapped after the Cox debacle."

George L. Wessel, an enrolled Republican who heads the AFL-GO Coucil in Boffalo. feels than Nixon is "such an egiosit that he's liable to burst and push the red button, and then we'd be at war." Despire the efforts of the Republican Party to dissociate itself from Watergate: it appears to have been badly hurt. G.O.P. fortunes seem dim in Novel George, and party coffers are empty. "I think the vote is going to be so low that it will be a repudiation of everybody," says a G.O.P. worker. "The people are disqueted with all Out.

The reactions of two important groups in the East—the business and Jewish communities—are particularly interesting. While Jewish intellectuals have largely soured on Nixon, other Jews are appreciative of his staunch support of Israel in the Middle Eastern war. "The Jewish community is by and large

"The Jewish community is by and large against impeachment," says Professor Seymour Siegel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City. "Nixon's courage in supporting Israel in its time of trial has aroused feel-

ings of gratitude

Real World, Businessmen have for some time been appalled by the bad management of the Nixon Administration, and the revelations of arm twisting applied to raise campaign funds from business. Wall Street, however, is fearful of the effect a lengthy impeachment proceeding would have on the stock market, which already reflects investor jitters. "I think in people's zealousness to get at Nixon, they have forgotten the real world," says Walter B. Wriston, chairman of the First National City Corp. "In the real world, there has to be someone to take Nixon's place. Right now, all we have is Carl Albert, and he is not an acceptable alternative

Says Peter Hochreiter, a Buffalo stockbroker: "The country is undergoing a binge of masochism, and Nixon should not resign." E.A. Lee, a retired construction company manager in Hamilton Square township. N.J., agrees: "If Nixon gets out, we'll just be giving some other burglar a chance."

Organized impacchment moves under way in New York City, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have met with indifferent success. Amid the confusion and dismay, there are a few who discern a silver line; "No matter how this turns or line;" "No matter how this turns out the result will be favorable," says Alan K. Campbell, doan of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. "There are signs that the President is significant doesn't mean a man can do as he wishes. The country is getting a good cleaning, and so is the President."



"Somehow I feel whatever I'm missing I'm better off not knowing."

NEW ENGLAND

Boston Bureau Chief Sandra Burton is responsible for the six New England states from Maine to Connecticut. She

Public opinion toward the President has turned as chill as the autumn air in New England. On the many college campuses that crisscross the region, the issue of impeachment is reviving some of the protest fervor of the anti-Viet Nam War days. What has been the topic of dining-hall conversation for some time has now become the subject of polls, petitions and street placards.

After the firing of Archibald Cox, 3700 of Yale's 5,000 undergraduates signed petitions demanding impeached suddents showed that 61% favored results of the control of the

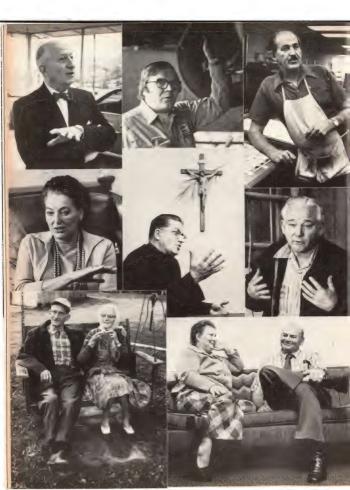
Such harsh reactions are not peculiar to campuses. The President may have fulfilled his pidege to bring us together, "says Father Richard J. Shmaruk, a priest in Cambridge, Mass." There Young, 6d, rich, poor, liberal, conservative—they've all had it." Citizens in the Cambridge area collected 15,000 signatures in three days on an impeachment petition they are planning to present to their Congressman, Floore of the Cambridge area (Thems P. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr. ("Tip")

More than a hundred miles to the west of Cambridge, the three selectmen in Monterey, Mass. (pop. 600), a largely

blue-collar community, voted unanimously to urge their legislators in Washington to move for impeachment proceedings. Says Selectman John S. Pizzichemi: "We may be a tiny town. but that doesn't mean that when we have strong feelings, we shouldn't show them." In Massachusetts' Twelfth Congressional District, the only one in the state to support Nixon in the 1972 election, Democratic Congressman Gerry E. Studds says that his mail is running 1,911 to 35 in favor of impeachment. "Many are long, thoughtful, soul-wrenching letters from people who voted two and three times for Nixon and now feel betraved

Pro-Nixon Ads. The mood in the more traditionally conservative states in the region is not much different. Many saunch Maine Republicans have left the fold. Says William McKeen, a Brunswick. Me. businessman who is running for the town council: I voted and campaigned for the gay. but I wish they'd get rid of hint of the should have a state of long ago." Adds Mrs. North Says and S

Not everyone is abandoning the President. The Autional Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency, and any opposition of Providence, claims to agroup based in Providence, claims to Nixon newspaper ads. Rabbi Baruch Korff, general chairman of the committee, says that his group will try to committee the committee, says that his group will try to committee the committee of the committee of



Main Street Revisited: Changing Views on Watergate

Last spring, just as the Senate Waterquite hearings began. Thus, correspondents interviewed citizens in five diverse communities to sample reactions to the break-in and cover-up. They found that with few exceptions, people were confused by the charges and converted to the charges. Some claimed that they were losing interest; others instead that previous Administrations had done similarly scandidous things but had not been caught. Nearly veryous thought that may be a support the considered servantly interest the confused in the same communities to find our how public attitudes have changed after five more month of disclosures and crisis.

LEXINGTON, Va., Last May Mrs. Julie Martin, then 46, an administrative assistant at Virginia Milliary Institute, was not sure what to think about Waregate and the President. Now she says "The public's confidence in him and his Administration is or ridded with doubt that for the good of the country he should be sperapeathment, but Delicers." As painting in the present may be perhaps it is necessary, to demonstrate that we as a people insist upon ethical government. I have to believe he's guilty of using the Giovernment and people and his position to his own and causing. When you guilt all logether; it doesn't lease you much

Her views illustrate how public opinion in this farming commutity (pop. 8440 has hardened among some pople. Those who were suspicious of Nixon now totally distrust him. But many still defend him and are insistent that the liberal news media are partly to blame. Farmer Carl Sensabuagh, 69, and his wife Kattina. 70, still pays more attention to the price of chicken feed. Statina. 70, still pays more attention to the price of chicken feed. says. "I don't keep up-with it except on TV. but I kinda feel like (frhey would leave the President alone, he'd do a better pib."

BEAVER FALLS, PA. Many people interviewed in this steel-final recitating town (pop). 140000 hope Nixon will end the crisis byresigning. Even those who try to give Nixon the benefit of the doubt find it difficult to support him. One such is Dr. George W. Carson, 51. minister at Trinity United Presbyterian Church IE causiously arguer. "If President Nixon defended these tages because of a principle, then it is to his credit. But if it is proved that he was protecting himself, then it's contrary to the sprired our country." What does Carson believe? "I believe he's protecting himself, the Ut don't want to believe it."

Nixon has some defenders in town, such as Auto Dealer Edard A. Sahli, 99, who still likes former Vice President Spiro Agnew, thinks the President is a victim of "harassment and persecution." and insists that the public is bored with Watergate ("It's like going to see Onleaf Tom's Cobbit ten times." More you call are the views of Karen Phillips 2, 0 director of Christian edphaining." My dad would say, All politicians are crooks, and I used to say no. Nov. lagree. If feel betrayed."

SHARER HIGHTS, OND. In an auto service shop of this posperious suburly topp 3,6000 of Cleveland, Mechanic Ken Masshart, 35, ridiculed Watergate for months as just another political squabble. He even used to skip ower newspaper stories about it But Spiro Agnew's resignation convinced him that something was terribly vorein in Wathington, He explains: "All of a sudit." For the image of the country, he thinks that: "Nixon should resign before impost, but the suburle stories of the superior stories."

Librarian Margaret Campbell, 60, also keeps up with the Watergate news, yet she finds herself "just as confused as I always was" about what's happening. Indeed, she thinks that the actions of those involved in Watergate defy understanding. "Maybe

they read too many books about suspense and intrigue."

Mrs. Patricia Plotkin, 41, past president of the local League

of Women Voters and a first-year law student, used to be on the fence about Watergate. Now she declares: "I have zero faith in the President, at least in his integrity." To her, impeachment is still "a frightening prospect," but she adds: "I frankly would be willing to accept the fear. I don't feel that is any reason we should keep a President in office when there are fundamental questions about his honesty and his ability to serve.

PORTLAND, ORE. President Nixon still has a few loyalists in this city (pop. 390.00), such as President Pohn Howard. 51 of Lewis and Clark College, who says of the press and Congress: They are like sharks. When they smell Blood, they go made. "Another is. J. Richard Nokes, 58, managing editor of the Organian, who declares: "A Jurch-mob atmospher has developed in the Washington press corps and in Congress. Now it has spread through the country." But majority sentiment in Portland is illustrated by the flact that Nokes: wom newspaper, receives 40 times illustrated by the flact that Nokes wom newspaper receives 40 times for the country." But that Nokes were some newspaper.

For months Democratic Mayor Neil Goldschmidt, 32, was cautious in his criticism of Nixon because he did not want to sepaardize the city's application for \$20 million in federal funds for have sain that office, the dignity surrounding it. What will be left when he gets through with it. Lord only knows." Says Mrs. Margene Williams, 33. a gift shop operator. "When Agnew resigned we caught the flee but not the rat." Adds Ton Cook, 32 will be signed with the country the way it is now."

Most bewildered of all are the city's Republicans. Clyde Brummell, 47, a carpenter and a Republican precinct commiteeman, says. "When I was growing up, all I heard was that Herbert Hoover caused the Depression. Now they are trying to Hooverize the Republican Party again, saddling us with something we didn't cause.

Industry of Mrs. Connic McCready, 52. a public utilities commissioner and a Republican, the situation has worsened since May, 58 explains: "Every week, you pick up a new-paper you have to say, "My God." I feel like I'm standing in the surf, and just as I am hit by one wave, another comes and his surf, and just as I am hit by one wave, another comes and his me until I'm reeling. I feel myself drawing inward, pulling in my head like a turtle. I think the country can survive this, we can survive anything, But I'm avdifully worried."

MIMMAUKE. On the blue-collar, white ethnic South Side of this city (ppo 78.000). Watergate as a topic of conversation still ranks behind street crime and the Green Bay Packers. In May people were unbelieving and bored with Watergate. now most apparently have decided Nixon should be removed, but they feel unconfortable talking about It. Explains the Rev James Czachowski. 47. of Si. Ignatius Church: 'Last May nobody would point a finger at the President, now they gal think he's gailly. But we want him removed without having to do the drity work on which was you will be supported to the constitutional successors. but have? They can give us all those constitutional successors but we elected a President. All those other people are strangers.

Not all South Siders share his concern. At Pinky's bowling alley, Grae Londo, a nursing assistant, declares: "Last May I had my doubts. No more. My woman's intuition asys Nixon's a liar. He's gone beyond politics as usual; he's taken advantage of being President. Impeach him: "Just as emphatically, others disagree." My business is going good; let's not disrupt the country." says Pat Platto, 41, owner of a lindourn company.

But Machinist Bud Bongard, 46, expresses the views of most South Siders: "I've never felt so helpless. What can we people at the bottom do? We used to take pride in our vote. We thought we were electing the lesser of two evils last year, and look what we got. I'm thinking about not voting next time."

THE NATION

will become of the country if we get rid . "who is going to talk to Brezhnev and of the President: I'm worried about what will happen if he stays."

THE SOUTH

Atlanta Bureau Chief James Bell is responsible for eleven states from Virginia to Louisiana. He reports.

There is probably a greater degree of compassion for Richard Nixon in the South than anywhere else in the nation today. While his position has eroded in the past month, the South would appear to be more willing to forgive and forget than the rest of the country. There is more sorrow than anger over the President's transgressions, whatever they may be. Perhaps because of their own long history of resistance to the national Government, Southerners are less surprised or dismayed when that Government proves to be corrupt

You can't isolate Watergate as a separate problem," says Aaron M. Kohn, director of the metropolitan crime commission in New Orleans. "It's the peak of a pyramid that covers all 50 states. All of the ingredients of Watergate are merely a reflection of things we have tolerated too long throughout the political system." Says Fred Hand Sr., a Georgia farmer and banker who was speaker of the Georgia house for eight years: "Anyone who has run a political campaign on a state level knows that if everything he did were uncovered he could be put on a chain gang. I don't care who he is.

A majority of Southerners still seem to fear impeachment more than they resent Nixon. Joe Feinberg, who supplied the decorative ceramic tiles for the Key Biscayne homes of both the President and Bebe Rebozo, thinks Nixon is "guilty as sin." But he worries about

PRO-NIXON MOTHER & CHILD



Mao. How is Carl Albert going to be able to carry on a dialogue with the big powers? They'll kill us

On the basis of the evidence disclosed to date. Pat Smith, a sometime lobbyist in the Texas state legislature. thinks there are insufficient grounds for impeachment. "We could suffer this trauma every four years, and we can't afford it " Many Southerners blame the press more than Nixon for the Watergate debacle. Says Nick Parker, an advertising man in Birmingham: "A few Democrats and the liberal press-especially the Washington Post-are persecuting the President and tearing up the

What could eventually turn the South against Nixon is that he has not acted with the personal honor that the region has always valued. It is the gut that may react first, as it did with the patrons in the saloon owned by Manuel Maloof, a power in the Democratic Party in De Kalb County, Ga. Maloof was bartending when the news of the missing tapes was reported on TV. "You wouldn't believe the look on their faces," he recalls. "They can't believe this guy. I'm honestly afraid he might force a revolt in this country. Hell, this ain't a banana republic. We don't want a coup d'état. But he's going to drive some people too far.

THE MIDWEST

Chicago Bureau Chief Gregory H. Wierzynski is responsible for 15 states ranging from Ohio to Oklahoma. He re-

The Midwest has long been Nixon country. For years, millions in the heartland have felt that the President was one of them, embodying the simple traits they admire so much: purposeful ambition, pride in country, respect for family and church, plus a dash of disdain for the culture pushers from the East. But to these same people today, he is a much diminished man. His troubles are like a disgrace in the family. Few people want to disavow him completely, and some of the old affection lingers. Most citizens are embarrassed, perplexed and, most of all, saddened

The Watergate hearings began eroding Nixon's popularity this summer, but lately the disillusionment has moved from the political left to include most of those in the middle and many on the traditional right. In one of its strongest outbursts, the conservative Chicago Tribune called the President's firing of Cox a "colossal blunder." While only a few weeks ago, most people were willing to give him at least the benefit of the doubt if not their full trust, his credibility today is virtually nonexistent. A Chicago newspaper sampling showed that 63% of the people in the area do not believe the White House statement that the two missing tapes never existed

Not many people believe that the President can regain the country's confidence, Says Illinois Republican State



PICKETS NEAR WHITE HOUSE Diminishing loyalists.

Chairman Don Adams: "I'm convinced now that there is no way he can win, no matter what. He could give up every tape and hand over the key to the Oval Office and that's not going to be enough." University of Minnesota President Malcolm Moos, an adviser to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, has an even gloomier view. "He can't pull out of it with the possible exception of contrived military crises."

In the board rooms of the great Midwestern corporations and in the private clubs where businessmen gather, Nixon is perceived not so much as a wicked man as an inept one. "Had he had a firm grip on what was done on his behalf. Watergate would never have happened," says Oscar Blomgren, president of Tuxco Manufacturing Corp. in North

Shrill Campuses. With more passion than logic, other businessmen blame Watergate for the poor business climate. But the shrillest cries for the President's removal come from the campuses. Student demonstrations are lackadaisical by the standards of the late '60s, but petitions are circulating in just about every school in the Midwest, and campus papers are having a field day

Despite their misgivings about Nix on, most Midwest citizens stop short of calling for impeachment. Many wish he would resign, but few hold out much hope for that. John Bauswein, 26, a registered Republican who runs a tavern in Cleveland, worries that impeachment would tarnish the country's image abroad: "I support the President only in that I don't want him impeached. I don't want the country further embarrassed." Some Midwesterners feel that impeachment would disfranchise them. Says Marjorie Bohac of Kimball, Neb.:



Jerry Parnell Allstate Policyholder Buffalo, New York



Al Snyder Allstate Claim Adjuster Buffalo, New York

"The car in front of me jammed on his brakes. It was wet, and I slid right into him. I called Allstate."

"I'm a medical student. I was studying for a big exam, so I couldn't waste any time."

"I was there for about 15 minutes. Mr. Snyder estimated the damage and gave me a check. It was bim, bim, bim!"

"We invited Mr. Parnell to come on down to our Drive-in claim office."

"He didn't believe I was going to give him a check on the spot."

"'You're in good hands' is more than just a slogan. We really try to make it work."



THE NATION

"A vocal minority is trying to accomplish by impeachment and removal of our President what it was unable to do in the election last Nov. 7. I resent this group trying to take my vote from me."

A hard core of Nixon supportess blames the President's troubles on the press. The sentiment is particularly strong in Oklahoma and Nebraska, where Nixon ran up huge pluralities last year, but it can also be detected in parts of Kansas, Indiana, Missouri and, to a lesser degree, in every other Midwestern state. "After the President's news conference, I wept," wvrote Mrs. V.A. Al-kins, in a typical letter received by the Tulsa Tribuse.

THE WEST

Los Angeles Bureau Chief Richard L. Duncan is responsible for 13 states stretching from Texas to Montana and west to Alaska and Hawaii. He reports:

Most Westerners do not want to impeach their President, but they are running out of patience with him. They may have been slow to arrive at this point, preferring to hope through the summer more scandals in the Administration and that the question of the tapes would be settled nearby by the courts. The loss of Cox. Richardson and Ruckelshaus changed all that. Suddenly it seemed that the messages coming over the Amasile when the properties of confidence of conf

dence in Richard Nixon began that weekend, was partially stanched by his subsequent agreement to turn over the tapes, then spurted anew when two turned up missing. San Diego Secretary Phyllis Resultsoff summed up the new mood: "I'm a little paranoid right now him to be supported to the partial stanch to the subsequent to the subsequen

As a result of these recent shocks, most people have moved into a kind of political agnosticism. They no longer believe in their President, but they are not yet ready to deny him totally. A strong minority of perhaps more than 25% of the citizens in Western states are in farmour of the comment is smaller group is unwavernayly behind vitton, still feel mind that will be vindicated and can restore strong Government if only, the citizens of the comment of

Others find themselves talking in terms of a jilled lover or abandoned spouse. "I'm kind of like the woman who's sure her husband has been un-faithful," says Carmelita Langeland, a housewife in Woodland Hills, Calif, who has supported Nixon for more than 20 years. Moorns a Los Angeles public relations man: "It's like a goy living with more. Hed like to get a divorce, but he doesn't want to face the pain. And then there's what it would do to the kids."

To the West's conservative Republicans, the past months have been especially trying. They bit their tongues when Nixon went to China, and they reluctantly accepted "peace with honor in Viet Nam rather than victory. But the contradiction between the morality of Watergate and their own law-andorder instincts irks them. They are coming to question his competence and his feel for the country. Most difficult for the majority who voted for him just a year ago has been the emotional roller coaster caused by each successive revelation. When Nixon reversed himself and agreed to turn over the tapes to Federal Judge John Sirica, William Murray Ryan, G.O.P. state chairman in New Mexico, was reminded of "Agnew's saying he'll never resign and then resigning.

Two factors seem to be inhibiting or-

ganized impeachment activity. One is the uncertainty over a successor—a deep concern that the hasty removal of Nix-on might leave the nation in inept hands. Equally widespread is a reluctance to go the last mile on the basis of press reports. Though he has almost decided in either last of the control of the control of the control of the press (17 de more positive about it if I didn't have the feel of the press (coloning in for the kill."

As the disenchantment grows, partisan differences decline. Voices are generally lowered, rhetoric is restrained, Most citizens seem anxious to exchange views about the plight of the country but reluctant to commit themselves on what should—or might—happen. There is still faith in the Constitution, in firm whiff of gentle patriotism in the air, born of uncertainty and caring.



VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE FORD AT SENATE HEARINGS ON HIS CONFIRMATION

VICE PRESIDENCY

A Rush to Judgment on Gerald Ford

The hearings had originally been scheduled to be protracted affairs—the House's lasting until mid-December and the Senate's stretching on until early 1974. Congress wanted to take plenty of time to check out the record of Gerald Ford, the nominee of Richard Nixon to become the next Vice President.

Then came the uproar over the firing of Archibald Cox and the spreading realization that the President could
resign to be impeached. Suddenly, leisurely hearings were a luxury that the
Congress—and the nation—could not
afford. Last week there was a sharpcrackle of urgency in the air when the
Senate Rules Committee began meeting
on Ford's confirmation. Said Senator
Claiborne Pell: "I believe we all realize
that the nominee of today may not only

be the Vice President of tomorrow, but the President of next year."

In its zeal to make sure it missed on Agnewesque indirections, the Congress subjected Ford to an extraordinary investigation. The Fall put 350 agents from 33 field offices onto his trail—steading 70 into Ford's hometown of Grand Rapids. Mich. Scon a steady stream of phone calls began coming into Ford's Washington office from firewards and successive the contraction of the Congress of the Congres

The 1.700 pages of raw, unevaluated data collected by the FBI were reviewed for the committee by Democratic Chairman Howard W. Cannon and Marlow W. Cook, the ranking Republican. In

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THE NATION

addition. Ford made available records of his campaign finances, office and personal bank accounts, income tax records, confidential financial statements required by the House of all its members, material held by his personal accountant and all correspondence of his congressional office—everything down to and including his children's savings accounts.

But even with this vast amount of data to sift, the Senators found little that fazed Ford on opening day. Among other things, Ford:

▶ Denied charges that he had concaled \$11.500 of campaign contributions in 1970 by handing over the funds to the Republican Congressional Campaign. Committee. During that campaign, he received more than \$13.000 from the committee. While admitting that he had not disclosed the original \$11.500. Ford said that the committee transactions denores had reported the

➤ Dismissed as "utterly preposterous" the claim by onetime Washington Lobbyist Robert N. Winter-Berger in his book *The Washington Pay-Off* that he had lent the Congressman more than \$15,000. Said Ford: "I categorically. unqualifiedly and unreservedly say that's

▶ Denounced a report that he had been treated for a year by a New York City psychotherapist. "The truth is," he said. "I am disgustingly sane."

While he called himself a loyal member of the President's team ("After a play is called, you shouldn't tackle your own quarterback"), Ford carefully edged away from some of Nixon's views and policies. He said that the President should have given up the tapes-and disclosed that two of them were missing -much sooner; that Nixon's choice for special prosecutor should be subject to confirmation by the Senate; that the firing of Archibald Cox was "an unfortunate incident"; and that he had no bone to pick with the press. The House's inquiry into possible grounds for impeaching the President, said Ford. should continue, "to clear the air.

Looking ahead. Ford said that as vice President he would try to be a "ready conciliator and calm communicator between the White House and Capitol Hill." He noted that for the past quarter-century he had known both the President and the Congress as intimatety as any man. The only qualim he had so the president of the president of the president of the president president of the president president

Indeed, last week Jerry Ford was among old friends who showed no disposition, on the basis of what they had learned so far, of turning down the nomination. Nor was there any thought of delaying his confirmation as a means of forcing concessions from President Nix-on. Both chambers of Congress hope to confirm Ford by Thanksgiving Day—something of a record clip for Cap—something of a record clip for Cap—

THE HOUSE

Moving Toward Impeachment

For the first time in 105 years, a committee of the House of Representatives assembled last week to begin an inquiry into the possible impeachment of the President of the U.S. Like many historic occasions, this one began with relatively obscure preliminaries and routine, undramatic details. Unlike the solemn moment of nonpartisan statesmanship that was clearly called for. however, the first full-scale meeting of the House Judiciary Committee devoted to the impeachment question produced a round of unfortunate bickering between Democrats and Republicans and a vote recorded along strict party lines. The committee's chances for future cooperation were hardly destroyed in the process, but it was far from an auspi-

cious beginning.
At the meeting Chairman Peter Rodino. a Democrat, sought the committee's authority to let him personally
subpoena documents and information
leading up to a presidential impeachment proceeding. That authority carries
ses power than it might impy, since
the committee of the



"Do you want to watch the 'outrageous, vicious, distorted news,' or would you rather go to the 'impeach Nixon' rally?"

vote the committee such powers at a lat-

Yet some Republicans grew deeply suspicious about Rodino's motive in asking even for the lesser authority. In an angry speech on the House floor, G.O.P. Moderate Thomas Railsback of Illinois charged that Rodino's request could

Carl Albert's Plan for a Smooth Succession

House Speaker Carl Albert's highest political ambition has been to hold the job he now holds. He has never aspired to the presidency. Yet the Constitution provides that if Richard Nixon resigns or is removed from office before Congress confirms House Minority Leader Gerald Ford as Vice President, Albert, a Democrat, will automatically become President: That might well cause a ma-

HOUSE SPEAKER CARL B. ALBERT

tional convulsion replete with charges that Albert and his Democrats conspired to undo the 1972 election results by "getting" Nixon and grabbing power illegitimately. Albert's closest friends believe that the Speaker could readily be persuaded to assure the presidential succession to a "legitimate". Republican.

That legitimate successor, of course, is already at hand. Not only did Nixon choose Ford as his potential successor by nominating him as Vice President, but he made that nomination on the recommendation of the Speaker, among

Thus Albert's friends believe that he would assume the presidency only long enough to see that Ford was confirmed by Congress as Vice President; he would then resign in Ford's favor.

In the unlikely circumstance that the Democratic Congress balked at confirming Ford, Albert could recommend another Republican as Vice President and resign when he was confirmed by Congress. Either course by Albert would assure continued Republican control of the presidency and, perhaps even more important, avoid the inevitable and ugly mational crisis that would be brought by accusations of a Democratic "theft." of the White House

THE NATION

result in "an unparalleled fishing expedition."

Rodino got his subpone a power, but a 21-17 voie that was on strictly partiana lines. The Democratic leadership in the House is gravely worried about provoking such splits, fearing that they would only exacerbate divisieness throughout the nation. Additionally, any conviction of an impeached Penident would obviously require a substantial would obviously require a substantial voie of the province of the province

Momentous Project. The committee chairman professed no alarm over the glaringly partisan vote by the committee's 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans, saying that by consulting with GO.P. members he will be able to still partisan suspicions. Rodino promised ranking Republicane. Edward Hutchinson that he and other G.O.P members will be kepf fully informed of all commonted to the committee of the committee of the common that the committee of the common that the committee of the commit

Meanwhile, Rodino has begun assembling an "impeachment staff," which by last week included two attorneys, six investigators, an office manager and about a dozen other workers Now he is looking for a chief counsel who is nonpartisan. "I want a good tri-al lawyer," says Rodino. "I want a man who is aggressive but not abrasive. And he has to be tuned in on constitutional law."

Rodino has also prepared an agenda for his momentous project. It begins with the assembly and cross-indexing of materials collected by various other governmental committees looking into presidential activities, including the Watergate committee in the Senate, the Armed Services Committee investigations in both houses, CIA involvement in Watergate, and the House study of work performed on Nixon's homes at Government expense. This and other material will then be formally evaluated to determine whether the committee has "probable cause" to charge that "impeachable offenses" have indeed been committed by the President of the United States. If it decides that they have. says Rodino, the committee will probably first schedule closed-door hearings to gather testimony and later hold public ones if the evidence clearly warrants. Should the committee formally determine that there are grounds for impeachment. Rodino continues. "then you are at the stage that you'd be writing Articles of Impeachment."

THE SENATE

An Ultimatum To the President

Nowhere was confidence in President Nixon more brussilly shattered by the firing of Archibald Cox than among the Republican leadership in the U.S. Senate. TIME has learned that Nixon's nomine tions star week of a new Attorney General and a new Watergates special prosents were pair of a steal unanimously section were pair of a steal unanimously section with the property of the their price for continued support of Nixon The details of the unusual Senate action, as pieced together by TIME Congressional Correspondent Nell MacRes

When Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott oventually reached White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig by telephone after the Saturday Night Massacre. Scott exploded with rage, warning the presidential assistant in purple language that Nison's actions would not course of action to be demanded of Nixon emerged from party councils, including the floor leaders, the Senate G.O.P.

Chairman Rodino at the Center

At the center of Congress's rising movement toward impeachment of President Nixon sits savvy, silver-haired Peter W Rodino, 64, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. He is an old-line ward politician with a sharp eye for a beneficent compromise and a shrewd poltician's sense of when to wage a fight.

Born in a Newark tenement, Rodino remains a resident of the same Italian-American community he has represented in Congress since 1948. He has never faced a serious challenge to his seat in New Jersey's Tenth District, and has successfully outclassed growing opposition from his district's black residents, who outnumber the whites Rodino has been able to win by consistently wide margins because he stays close to his bedrock Italian-American constituency and his liberal voting record makes him attractive to black voters. He has also persistently and successfully refuted charges linking him to his state's organized crime network

Rodino has had a lifelong fondness for fiction and poetry this favorite poem. Milton's On His Blindness!. As a young man he wrote a poem with a final quatrain that places wry perspective on the work now before him: "For those of you who will with scales in mind. The sins of erring man be called to weigh!" Re-driving the property of the property of



He also has an abiding love of opera, with the works of Verdi and Puccini particular favorites. He and his wife Marianna, 62, have two children, Peter. 22, a student at Seton Hall University law school, and Margaret, 30, wife of New-Ark Judge Charles A, Stanzjale Jr. Ro-

dino served for two years as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, and has been a staunch proponent of immigration reforms. He has also supported bills that would restrict employment of illegal aliens, who frequently are in competition for jobs with blue-collar workers in his district.

Though he has chaired the Judician Though he has chaired the Judician Yo Committee only since January 1923. Rodino has moved forcefully yet methodically on proceedings leading to impeachment. "I must conduct this inquiry in a thorough manner," he says. "because it affects the whole direction of our country." He is operating with an unqualified commitment from the House leadership for full financing of his inquiry, and has been given use of ten additional offices for his impeachment

"One of the problems is that there are so few guidelines," he concedes. "There's no question that the Chief Executive is responsible for the acts of his subordinates. There are questions whether these derelictions are of such magnitude that they bring serious injury to the country and the institution of government."

Of the unique role he and his committee have been called upon to play. Rodino says: "I feel a terrible sense of sadness. I had hoped that such an inquiry would not even have been necessary. But it's my responsibility. It is what the situation—and events—have dictated."

How to open your own BTV assembly plant.



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SENATE G O P LEADER SCOTT Purple language.

policy committee chaired by John Tower and the full party caucus. Conservatives like Tower were as adamant as Moderate Scott about forcing Nixon to make concessions. These included:

> The independence of the new Attorney General and special prosecutor must be assured

▶ One of the two new nominees must be a U.S. Senator; there was no other way to win Senate approval of

> The two must be announced at the same time; the Senate would not approve unless it got a ticket

> The new special prosecutor must have a charter at least as broad as the one given Archibald Cox before his firing, meaning he would be free to investigate areas beyond Watergate, like the financing of the President's homes.

Nixon had to agree to a "curtailing of the power of removal" of the special prosecutor. This meant that the President had to promise not to fire the new special prosecutor, unless such an action was approved by Congressional leaders of both houses and both parties.

> The new special prosecutor had to be assured access to all needed materials and have the option of going to federal court to get any that are withheld

The ultimatum was delivered to Haig and two other top White House aides, Melvin Laird and Bryce Harlow "The message is received loud and clear," guiped Harlow. It must have been. Scott was carefully consulted about the selection of William Saxbe as Attorney General-designate and Leon Jaworski as the new special prosecutor The minority leader privately urged Saxbe to seek a guarantee of absolute independence from the White House, then told Haig: "God help you if you give Saxbe any promises you don't keep He'll go public

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Handing the Ball to Bill Saxbe

When, at the most recent presidential news conference. Richard Nixon sought to downplay the gravity of his continuing crisis, he noted acidly that in the days following his decision to resume the U.S. bombing of Hanoi last Christmas there were charges by some that the President had "lost his senses." Nixon neglected to point out that the most prominent politician to offer this instant psychoanalysis was a fellow Republican. Ohio Senator William Bart Saxbe, and it was neither the first nor the last time that Saxbe chose to unload his blunt thoughts about the Administration. Yet last week, in still another of the political lurches that Washington has been witnessing almost daily, the President nominated Saxbe. 57. to become Attorover the selection of a new Watergate special prosecutor, Saxbe should have little trouble in winning the approval of his fellow Senators on the Judiciary Committee. Few potential nominees could make that claim since committee members are seething with anger over Nixon's dismissal of Archibald Cox. whose job they created last May as part of an agreement reached during the confirmation of former Attorney General Elliot Richardson

While Saxbe is scathingly critical of Nixon's handling of the Watergate investigation, his views are not especially at variance with those of the White House. He has criticized the Ervin committee hearings for putting on an unnecessarily flamboyant show and charged that Cox "was more interested in a lawsuit" than in pursuing the Watergate investigation. "There are certain affairs of the President that neither Congress nor the courts can invade," says Saxbe. "There is a power to impeach the President, but it was not contemplated in the Constitution that the President can be horsed



"Hmmm . . . he looks clean to me!" nev General. The man designated to serve as the nation's chief law-enforce-

ment officer warned his new boss: "You have to take me warts and all One unexpected wart, it quickly developed, was a constitutional technicality that seems to make Saxbe ineligible for the office until special legislation is passed by Congress, and possibly not even then. Since Saxbe was a member of Congress in 1969-when legislators voted to raise Cabinet salaries from \$35,-000 to \$60,000 annually-he is forbidden by Article 1, Section 6 of the Constitution to hold a Cabinet post until his Senate term expires next year. However, Acting Attorney General Robert Bork claimed that Congress could enable Saxbe to take his new job by passing "remedial" legislation, probably a bill temporarily reducing his salary to the old

level (as a Senator, he earns \$42,500). That snag aside, unless his confirmation gets tangled in the struggle between the White House and Congress



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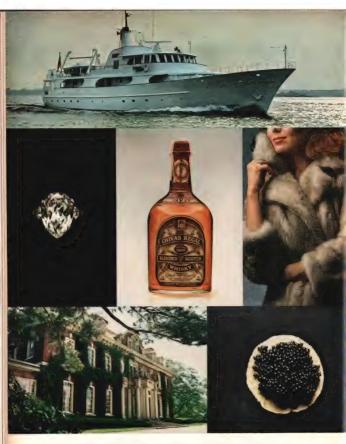
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Still, in choosing Saxbe, the President was forced to overlook an extraordinary record for candor displayed by the Ohio Senator, frequently at the Administration's expense. Shortly after arriving in Washington, Saxbe visited the White House and told Nixon that he had been elected to end the Viet Nam War and that "if he hung onto it, it would be his war." The Senator did not receive another White House invitation for more than four years. That was doubtless fine with John Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman, the President's two top advisers at the time, who were referred to as "those two Nazis" by Saxbe. More recently. Saxbe likened Nixon and his claims of nonawareness of the Watergate cover-up to "the man who plays piano at a bawdy house for 20 years and says he doesn't know what's going on upstairs

Fillbuster Foe. Saxbe was no easier on his colleagues in the Senate. "The first six months I kept wondering how I got here," he says. "After that I started wondering how all of them did. "Saxbe counts as his man achievement in the Senate his co-sponsorship of a rules change that effectively ended the filbuster. He grew increasingly finarrated by upper house, and last month, to no one's surprise, annount, to no one's surprise, annount of the would not seek another time.

Saxbe rose steadily through State ranks—speaker of the house in 1953-54, attorney general in 1957-59 and 1963-68 But he never lost his low of the land and his country directness. A favorite expression when someone is talking nonsense: "He ain't wrapped too tight. Various inegt politicians. Saxbe scoffs. "couldn't run a chicken downstairs with schoom."

A retired member of the Ohio National Guard, the Attorney General designate stirred his first controversy by hinting that he might stop the review of the Kent State shootings that had been ordered by Richardson. Saxbe has outspoken views on capital punishment (for) and gun-control legislation (against). All in all, Saxbe's tenure at the Justice Department did not loom as a quiet one. That prospect seemed to bother the frustrated legislator not at all You sit around the Senate for years and think of what you could do; you shoot your mouth off," says Saxbe. "Then they hand you the ball. You can't go home and sit on the porch.

A Stand-Up Texan for a Tough Task



WATERGATE PROBER JAWORSKI & WIFE Ready for a terrible job.

The lawyer from Houston had barely accepted the job when he was asked if he wished it had never been offered to him "Yes," quickly replied Leon Jaworski. 68. the man named last week to succeed Archibald Cox as the special prosecutor charged with getting to the bottom of the Watergate morass once and for all. "It's a terrible job." Jaworski's a

wife said when she heard the news. "I just feel sorry for him."
No one could blame the Jaworskis for having reservations about the new post. Last May. Jaworskis had said he was not interested in the job when he, among others, was sounded out by the Administration before Cox was named

among others, was sounded out by the Administration before Cox was named "I did not feel at the time that the independence was there." he explains "But now I'm not prohibited from taking any action I feel should be taken." In fact, Jaworski is getting no more

freedom of action than Cox was originally promised, although he did receive stronger safeguards of job security. If necessary. Jaworski can go to court to get tapes or other presidential materials; it was the President's efforts to deny Cox this right that led to Cox's firing. That guarantee was spelled out by Acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork. He also put on public record the White House's capitulation to the demands of the Republican Senate leadership: the President gave up his right to fire the special prosecutor on his own, an authority that not even Cox had disputed. If some unresolvable dispute should arise the President, before dismissing Jaworski, would have to get the approval of a "substantial majority" of eight congressional leaders, four from each party-the Speaker and the minority leader in the House, the majority and minority leader in the Senate, and the Democratic chairman and the ranking Republican member of the Judiciary Committee in each of the two chambers

But this elaborate procedure will never be used, or so Bork insists. "There can't be another firing." Bork told TIME last week. "Let's face it. The political realities won't allow it."

Bork admitted that his first choice for the job had fallen through Still, Bork said, he was delighted to have been able to persuade Jaworski to take on the chore, which was presented, in the new presecutor's words, as a "call to duty."

"We needed someone who was known to the bar and the public, someone with lots of prosecutorial experience," says Bork. After reviewing the Texan's performance as a prosecutor, his reputation as a man of integrity and a "feisty guy," the Acting Attorney General concluded that Jaworski was an excellent choice for the iob

Unpopular Cases. The son of a Polish-born minister who served in Waco's First Evangelical Free Church. Jaworski was just 19 when he got his law degree from Baylor University. He went on to a spectacular career as a courtroom practitioner known for his tough but ethical cross-examinations After World War II, Colonel Jaworski led the prosecution of the U.S. Army's war-crimes trials (the forerunners of those at Nuremberg). In civilian life, he often took on unpopular cases in the South, including the defense of a black who had murdered a white couple. At the request of Attorney General Robert



THE NATION

Kennedy, Jaworski prosecuted Mississippi's Governor Ross Barnett for preventing James H. Meredith from entering the state's university in Oxford. That time the police had to guard his house, and a banker sent him a note saying: "I have a store downther has a nineer bell's."

hope your daughter has a nigger baby. Jaworski rose to become a modest millionaire by Texas standards, the president of the American Bar Association and the senior partner of the Houston law firm that in size and influence is second only to John Connally's. A lifelong Texas Democrat-although he supported Nixon in 1972-Jaworski reigns in Houston as the apotheosis of Establishment power. In 1948, Jaworski helped defend Lyndon Johnson against charges of fraud in the wake of the 87vote victory that first sent him to the Senate. In 1960, he defended his friend against suits that sought to prevent him from running simultaneously for Vice President and Senator. Johnson put Jaworski on five presidential commissions

No Reservations. Jaworski gets high marks from lawyers who know-him. Although President Chesterfield Smith of the American Bar Association would prefer a completely independent prosecutor, he says of Jaworski: "It's a fabulous appointment. I have absolutely no reservations about his competency and integrity. He's a stand-up guy. If he's shoved, he will shove back, will shove back, will shove back, will shove back.

Jaworski expects to get into some showing matches. "I'd be the most surprised man alive if there were not pressures from all kinds of sources. But if I didn't think I could handle that I wouldn't have accepted the job." Only last spring Jaworski made a speech saying that the main lesson of Watergate was that "regardless of power and position, no man is above the law."

The new special prosecutor is eager to come to grips with his job. "The American people are entitled to have some answers without waiting forever," says Jaworski, "and I intend to get those

INVESTIGATIONS

Congress Seeks Its Own Prosecutor

When he learned that the Nixon Administration had named a new special Watergate prosecutor to replace Archibald Cox. Illinois Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson III told the Senate Judiciary Committee: "I keep thinking of the immortal words of Zsa Zsa Gabor after one of her numerous marriages: This

time, darling, it's for real."

That acid quip summed up the altitude of most of Congress's Democrats.

and a great many Republicans, toward
the appointment of Houston Attorney.
Leon Jaworski as Archibald Cox's successor. They were even more determined than before to create a special
prosecutor independent of the Executive
Branch. Senate Majority Leader Mike
Mansfield urged his collegues to delige
use to the control of the special control of the control

and the control of the special prosecutor festibation first.

Congress Burned. Congressional critics were not satisfied even by Nixon's promise that Jaworski would be free to seek whatever documents he desires and that he would not be fired without the approval of a "substantial majority" of eight congressional leaders of both parties. Republican Representative Wiley Mayne of Iowa said Congress still had to enact legislation with "very strong language assuring the independence of the special prosecutor." Declared Wisconsin Democrat Robert Kastenmeier, a senior member of the House Judiciary Committee: "The truth is we cannot have any faith in the President on this matter." Added Illinois's Stevenson: "We've relied before on the promises of the President, and Congress has been burned. There can be no independent prosecutor without congres-

sional action."

By the end of the week, ten bills and

resolutions to do just that had been introduced in the Senate and an even larger number in the House. The Senate Judiciary Committee also was holding hearings on the legislation with Cox as the first witness. Chief among the proposals the committee is considering:

in Finable John J. Sirica. as chief up Erinable John J. Sirica. as chief up Erinable John J. Sirica cas chief un good of the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., to name a special prosecutor who could be fired only for "extraordinary improprieties." The bill was spensored by Democrats Philip Hart of Michigan and Birch Bayh of Indiana, and would keep the prosecutor free from the Democratic-controlled Gongress as well as the White House. But some subjects about its lawyern have raised doubts about its

constitutionality. One of them is Acting Attorney General Robert Bork, who says: "We would have the situation of a judge appointing a man who argues the case before him. I think this proposal might jeopardize some of the cases." Cox, however, found nothing incongruous about letting a judge appoint a special prosecutor. He said: "It's certainly far more incongruous to expect people [meaning the Administration] to investigate them-selves." To erase the problem, some sponsors say they would be willing to have the prosecutor named by all 15 active judges of the district court. Such a scheme was backed by Chesterfield Smith, president of the American Bar Association

Have Congress set up its own special prosecutor's office, invest it with full authority to investigate, subpoena witnesses and evidence and seek grand jury indictiments. The proposal has not yet been formally introduced and does not have widespread support, chiefly because many Senators fear that the public might consider it too partisan.







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for a Democratic-controlled Congress Allow Nixon to appoint the special prosecutor-subject to Senate confirmation-but limit reasons for dismissal to malfeasance in office, neglect of duty or violation of the statute that created the office. Republican Senator Charles Percy of Illinois sponsored the bill as a compromise, and most attorneys thought that it would undoubtedly be found constitutional. Both Vice President-designate Gerald R. Ford and Republican Senator Robert Taft Jr. of Ohio have said they thought that the Senate should have the right to confirm Nixon's choice

Enormous Complications. If enacted, any of the measures would prevent the President from retaining his own special prosecutor. Otherwise, enormous complications could result. For instance, which prosecutor would have access to Cox's records? Who would

inherit his staff?

Any such bill, of course, must have President Nixon's signature before becoming law. Saxbe said he would recommend that Nixon veto any of the proposed bills and called them "the most incredible political junketeering I've ever seen." It is too early to tell whether there are enough votes to override a veto, but so far this year eight vetoes.

have been sustained To help the Senate Judiciary Committee choose among the various bills. Cox testified for three days, wearing his ever-present bow tie and shy smile. In professorial tones, he told of the "frustration and delay" he encountered in trying to obtain records from the White House. As he described the situation, the "presidential files"-which Nixon had declared off limits to Cox-kept expanding. They included logs Cox wanted of meetings and telephone calls about Watergate between the President and aides and records removed from the files of former aides such as former Presidential Assistants H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman

Since his firing. Cox has expressed little concern that the President would fire a special prosecutor again ("These things don't happen twice in succession"). Nevertheless, he declared it essential that the prosecutor "be established by statute and be given by statute guarantees of independence, guarantees of freedom to make his own decisions."

As the hearings progressed, they degenerated into partiasn bickering over an embarrassed admission by Cox. His former Attorney General Richard Kleindiens had been under presidential pressure to drop the ITT antitrust case tear bellowing surpl. Certainly, the inmitted that it had been "mescusable" but called it inadvertent. That did not statisfy Republican Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina in a series of former prosecutor might have violated legal ethics, court codes and the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. At one Point, Indiana Senator Birch Bayh objected and set off an acerbic exchange Thurmond: "Is the Senator suggesting that I am browbeating the winness?" Bayh: "Yes, I am: Thurmond: "Are you impugning ny motives." Bayh: "No. my motives and the point of the point of the impugning ny motives, you have gotten below a nate."

By week's end the shape of the bill that will finally emerge was still not clear. But a bill to have the court appoint the protectuor was gaining the greatest support—47 Democrats and eight Republicans now back it in the Senate, as do 107 Democrats and four equilibrium of the service of the

Reopening ITT

One of the Nixon Administration's earliest scandals is also turning out to be one of its most persistent embarrass-

ments. The affair centers on the charge, flatly disputed by all officials involved, that the Justice Department in 1971 settled an antitrust case against the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. on relatively favorable terms to the company shortly after ITT had pledged up to \$400,000 to support the 1972 Republican National Convention. Last week it was revealed that President Nixon himself had personally and bluntly intervened in the

At the time of Nixon's intercession, the Justice Department was determined to carry an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in an attempt to establish the principle that business competition can be unlawfully hindered by the growth of conglomerates. which expand by acquiring unrelated businesses, as much as by corporate growth in a single industry. The test suit was being pushed by Richard McLaren, chief of the Justice Department's antitrust division and now a federal judge. It had the support of then Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst and Solicitor General Erwin Griswold. (Attorney General John Mitchell had withdrawn from the case because his New York law firm had handled some ITT matters.) ITT, fearing an adverse Supreme Court ruling and the probable loss of its profitable Hartford Fire Insurance Corp. acquisition, was seeking at least a delay in the suit. The Government was also asking that ITT be forced to divest itself of two lesser firms. Grinnell Corp. and Canteen Corp.

Kleindienst and McLaren met on April 19, 1971, and agreed that there should be no delay; the appeal would be filed that day. Kleindienst so informed New York Lawyer Edward Walsh, who was helping to advise ITT Within hours Kleindienst received a telephone call from John Ehrlichman. then Nixon's top domestic affairs adviser. Ehrlichman said the President was "directing" Kleindienst not to file any appeal at all. Kleindienst said he could not agree with this. He explained that the decision to appeal had been made by McLaren and Griswold and declared that it would be carried out Snapped Ehrlichman: "Oh? We'll see about that

Kleindienst then received a call from Nixon, who said: "You son of a bitch, don't you understand the English language?" Nixon ordered him to drop the appeal

Seeking time to dissuade the Pres-



"Don't you understand the English language?"

THE NATION





FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL FORMER NIXON AIDE EHRLICHMAN Resignations were threatened, so the friend changed his mind.

ident. Kleindienst talked to McLaren and Griswold and suggested that the appeal be delayed, although he did not tell them of the White House orders. They agreed. Kleindienst then insisted on an immediate meeting with Mitchell. He told Mitchell flatly that he would resign rather than carry out Nixon's command. and that Mitchell should tell Nixon this McLaren and Griswold also would resign. Kleindienst suspected, rather than drop the suit at Nixon's behest. Within a couple of days Mitchell told Kleindienst: "I've talked to your friend [Nixon]. He says do anything you want on antitrust cases

Bod Indiscretion. The appeal then was filed as originally planned. Before it was heard by the Supreme Court, how-ever, the Justice Department worked out an out-of-court settlement allowing ITI to retain the Harford firm—is priority on the court of the

concurs. The story of Nison's phone. Call fine broke in the New York 7, when the new york 7 men, the newspaper did not reveal its sources. But Cox had been told about the conversations by Kleindienst as his staff probed the whole ITT affair. Cox conceded that he might have been an inferest source of the Times story because he had 'careleasly' mentioned the Nison Staff of the Staf

excusable breach of confidence." Yet TIME has learned that Cox and his staff were not the only source of the story; actually. Justice Department officials—and White House staff members as well—contributed much key information for it.

It was a bad indiscretion. But that did not alter the substance of the story, whose accuracy the White House did not offer the substance of the story, whose accuracy in the House statement said that Nison had every substance of the statement asserted that Nison had only discussed such policy with Kleinest, rather than ordering any action It pointed out that the appeal had, in fact, proceeded—but it failed to note that Nison was threatened with top-level that the substance of th

The Senate Judiciary Committee promptly announced that it would reopen hearings on the ITT matter. Most immediately on the spot is Kleindienst. who was asked about White House influence on the ITT decisions when he sought confirmation as Attorney General in March 1972. Said he at that time "I was not interfered with by anybody at the White House. I was not pressured I was not directed." But Kleindienst insisted last week that he had not perjured himself, since he thought the committee questions were aimed at the later out-of-court negotiations with ITT rather than the earlier decision on whether to appeal the case The special prosecutor's staff pre-

sumably will continue to investigate the matter also. Apart from possible perjury charges, the more serious issue remains the question of whether the President intervened on behalf of ITT in return for the ITT political contribution pledge—a possibility the White House heatedly denies

Gurney's "Boosters"

One of the bitter side effects of Watergate has been to reinforce popple's distrast of all politicians. That distrast was hardly dampened last week when charges of corruption were raised against—of all goople—one of the investigators. Edward J. Gurrey, Republican member of the Ervin committee. acknowledged in a terse statement that acknowledged in a terse statement that allegations that he had received more than \$300,000 in unreported contributions in 1971 and 1972, mostly from builders seeking influence with the Federal Housing Administration.

According to the Miami Herald, the probe of the Senator's finances began after Gainesville Builder Philip I. Emmer complained to the FBI that a Gurney emissary had demanded \$5,000 for FHA approval of two apartment projects costing \$6,000,000. The Herald reported that another builder. John Priestes of Miami, told a grand jury that he had been promised influence through Gurney's office if he paid Larry E. Williams. who was then an aide to the Senator. \$500 a house for each FHA-subsidized housing contract he received. Priestes reportedly testified that he had turned over more than \$170,000 in cash to Williams and former Miami HIA Director William Pelski, in exchange for FHA housing contracts

Some of the funds collected for Gurney were deposited in the Commercial Bank of Winter Park, Fla. on whose board the Senator sits, the newspaper said Eventually, all of the money was channeled to the Washington bank account of a secret "Gurney Boosters Fund" and used by the Senator to pay office, travel and other expenses

Gurney declined to confirm or to denote the accusations, explaining: "The Justice Department has asked that neither me nor any member of my staff make any comment until the investigation is concluded."

SENATOR EDWARD J GURNEY



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Christmas TIME



MIDDLE EAST

Now for the Bitter Battles of Peace

Except for scattered skirmishes along the Suez Canal, the guns of war fell slient last week across the Middle East. Almost as abruply as it had begun, the superpower suber-ruttling also came to an end. One week earlier at the Suez Canal and its Arab neighbors. The U.S. last week ended a worldwide military alert called to forestall apparent. Sueviet troop moves into Egypt, after bristly children from the Suez Canal and Suez Canal and Suez Canal Suez

With all these fronts quiet, diplomats began to take up where the generals had left off. To them was given the job of trying to create a peace settlement that could be as dramatic as the war itself. The short-term problems created by the war and the intensified harteds built up over 25 years made the task difficult. But there were some opportunities, and along with them there

Dangerous Notes. One immediate problem was that the latest Middle East war ended on an inconclusive and potentially dangerous note. From a purely military viewpoint, Israel had won, but not in the spectacularly decisive way that its generals had hoped.

Egypt's Third Army of 20,000 men. which had crossed to the east side of the Suez Canal in the first days of battle, was still there. But it was surrounded, trapped and desperately short of food, water and medical supplies. An Israeli task force, crossing the canal in the opposite direction, had surrounded the city of Suez and rolled up the flanks of units protecting the Third Army. As a result of such maneuvers, troops of the United Nations Emergency Force moving into the battlefield area to keep the peace found it hard to find the lines. In some places, the blue-helmeted U.N. troops discovered Egyptians and Israelis a scant 30 yds. away from one another. In other places, the lines were kilometers apart

Operating with Security Council sanction—and aided in large measure by U.S. pressure on Israel to let the surrounded Arab troops be resupplied—the U.N. Emergency Forcops be resupplied—the U.N. Emergency Forcops became to be the beleaguered Egyptians. Beyond that mercy mission, the role of the peackeeping force was unerstain. It faced under the peach of t

This time, as then, the Egyptians indicated that they might want a say-so on the disposition of the U.N. force. This time also the Soviet Union was threatening to withhold funds their fift disagrees with the operations of the U.N. troops, with the Chinese will ante up nothing at all. And Soviet Annassandor to the U.N. Yakov Malik was continuing to try to bring the emergency force under the control of the Security Council, where Russia has a veto, rather than under Secretary-

the Israelii task force moving across the Size. Canal and its significance to Egopti Third Army, It was the plight of the Third Army, It was the plight of the Third Army that forced the Soviet Union to ask U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to visit Moscow for case-fire talks. The threatened Soviet troop movements, which led to the American alert, were primarily designed to pressure Washington into Forcing the Israelis to stop fighting while the Third Army was still more or less intact. No

UNITED NATIONS TROOPS MOVING INTO SUEZ CITY TO TAKE UP PEACE-KEEPING POSITIONS Backed by Security Council sanction and superpower pressure.

General Kurt Waldheim. The U.S. opposes Malik's demand.

Considering the international character of the negotiations that led to the cease-fire, it was no surprise that the broader diplenantic discussions last week took on a kind of intercontinental jet-set frenzy, Soviet Deputy Foreign Mister Vasily Kuntetow, for example, hard to compare the control of the con

accurately.

Convinced that the Arabs could and would win, the Soviets did not realize until it was almost too late the size of

other incident of the war has so infuriated the Israelis, who consider that the superpowers thereby deprived them of victory.

viceoly are his return to Washington. Kissinger rescheduled a postponed trip to Peking for this week. Along the way, he will stop at Rabat. Caro. Amman and the Saudi Arabian capital of Riyadh to discuss the Middle East situation with the Arab leaders. Isyrais-Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammed Zebarya Ismail last week met Kissinger thesed any contact.)

Kissinger will be accompanied by State's top Middle Eastern expert. Assistant Secretary Joseph Sisco, who swill make additional visits to Tel Aviv, Beirut and Kuwait. Sisco will also have the unenviable job of trying to explain U.S.



EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT Worried about his children.

Middle East moves to representatives of the NATO nations in Brussels, who were roiled by Washington's unilateral decisions and efforts to resupply Israel from U.S. military stocks in Europe (see story page 64)

Last week also, both the Israelis and the Egyptians invited themselves to Washington for discussions with Kissinger and President Nixon. First to arrive was Egypt's Ismail Fahmy, 51, who had been dispatched by President Anwar Sadat to get a firsthand explanation of Washington's attitudes about the cease-fire. Even while Fahmy was in Washington, word came from Cairo that Sadat had elevated him from acting to permanent Foreign Minister. That was a hopeful sign as far as future peace negotiations are concerned. Fahmy replaced Mohammed Hassan Zayyat, who felt that he could not carry out a new Sadat-ordered policy of rapprochement with Washington.

Extra Kilometers. Meanwhile. Sadat appeared in Cairo in field marshal's uniform to hold a press conference for 350 Egyptian and foreign correspondents gathered to report the war. In a remarkably relaxed and genial mood," he gave one reason why he accepted the cease-fire: "I would not fight the United States of America. I fought Israel for eleven days. They would have run out of ammunition in two [more] days. I am not ready to fight the U.S." Although he criticized Washington for giving aid to Israel. Sadat praised the U.S. for taking a "constructive position" on peace negotiations. As for the muddled ceasefire lines, Sadat chuckled: "I am willing to give Mrs. Meir an extra ten square kilometers

Egypt's Fahmy was followed to Washington by Israel's doughty Premier. Looking alarmingly fatigued as she arrived at Dulles Airport aboard an El Al airliner, Golda Meir, 75, remained seated for an airport press conference Her visit, as it turned out, was somewhat more urgent than Fahmy's. The U.S., after all, is Israel's principal friend and chief armorer. According to reports from Jerusalem, Washington is not only replacing planes and tanks Israel lost in the war but has also provided antitank weapons and new "smart bombs, such as the Walleye and the Rockeye. that the Israelis have never had before At the same time, however, President Nixon had pressed so vigorously for a cease-fire that his actions rekindled latent Israeli fears of an imposed settlement. Mrs. Meir had come to Washington to find out what the President had in mind

What Washington wanted, as President Nixon told Mrs. Meir in two days of talks that were officially described as "very constructive," was for Israel to coperate in setting cease-fire lines and taking pressure off Sadat by feeding his trapped Third Army. The American

'In fact he was in mourning for his half-brother a MIG fighter-pilot who had been shot down and killed over the Sinai during the fighting

pressure on Israel was obviously intense At one point last week, Defense Minister Mohe Dayan told Israel's parliament: "I do not know whether Knesset members are aware that the shells that the Israelis are firing today were not in their possession a week ago. The war cannot be waged without shells, and without shells we shall not be able to retain the conduction of the work of the area were consecuted by the shell of the their things of the shell of the shell of the work of the shell of the shell of the their things of the shell of the shell of the work of the shell of the shel

In return for allowing supplies to reach the Third Army, Israel expected a prisoner-of-war exchange that was very slow in getting under way, Israel seeks the return of 440 men listed as missing in action, most of them on the Sinai front. To recover them Israel is willing to send back some 8000 Arab prisons of the prison of the prison of the Sinai front to the Sinai front to the Sinai front To recover them by the prisons of the Sinai front to the Sinai front to the Sinai front Sinai front To recover them to the Sinai front to the Sinai front To recover the Sinai front to the Sinai front to the Sinai front To recover the Sinai front to the Sinai front to the Sinai front To recover the Sinai front to the Sinai front to the Sinai front To recover the Sinai front to t

By week's end, however, the Egyptians had handed over only 85 names of Israeli prisoners to the International Red Cross in Geneva, and the Syrians none at all. There were rumors in Israel that many of the prisoners, especially those held in Syria, had been brutally tortured-which in fact had occurred in 1967. Wives and relatives of the missing men turned out in angry demonstrations before the Knesset building in Jerusalem and the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv. They carried signs WHERE IS MY FATHER and NIXON YOU GAVE THE EGYPTIANS A CEASE-LIRI NOW GIVE US BACK OUR SONS

The demonstrations underscored one more reason for Mrs. Meir's hasty visit to Washington. The war and its uncertain ending have created Israel's most serious domestic political crisis in 25 years. Defense Minister Dayan, the hero of the '67 war, is already being excoriated for not having prepared Israel's forces to rebuff the initial Arab attacks Mrs. Meir's Labor-dominated coalition government is also under attack, particularly from army officers, who resent that they were not allowed to finish off the Arabs. Some observers of Israeli politics predict a significant shift to the right when national elections. originally scheduled for last week, are held in December after a war-inspired

postponement "My Children." To some extent. Mrs. Meir's political future rests on how she solves the prisoner issue, which last week threatened to become as important in the Middle East as it had been for the U.S. in Viet Nam. Sadat bluntly warned the Israelis against further attacks on "my children" of the Third Army. He was holding out not merely for a cease-fire and the return of prisoners, but for a withdrawal of Israeli forces to the positions they had held when the cease-fire was ordered on Oct 22. For the Israelis, the point of that demand was obvious. To get their prisoners back, they would have to withdraw from key positions on the west bank of the canal. Meanwhile, Sadat would be able to maintain his forces on the east bank and claim an Arab victory.

Egypt also had one other card to play. Mrs. Meir protested that Egyptian destroyers were blockading Bab el Mandeb, where the Red Sea meets the Indian Ocean, thereby preventing tankers from sailing on to Eilat to unload vital

the Washington was working. Buff I lored the deployation impasses, the Russians last week were content merary to sit back and observe. Moscow was unquestionably delighted by the disarray in the Atlantic Alliance that had been created by President Nixon's unlearnal handling of the Middle East crisis. Though the Wastern alles misside variety they complained that Wastington's actions had made it more difficult for them to negotiate as a united bloc for them to negotiate as a united bloc for them to negotiate as a united bloc for them to negotiate as a united bloc.

with the Russians. 'Great Martyrs." But if Washington had overreacted in panic to the threat of a confrontation with the U.S.S.R., it had skillfully seized the initiative in serving as the real peacemaker in the Middle East. Even though Egyptian officers at the front were not only meeting with Israeli officers but in some cases carrying on their conversations in Hebrew. Sadat insisted at his press conference that he would never negotiate with Israel face to face. The State Department, however, quietly contended that when the time came Cairo would take part in direct meetings. Meanwhile. Israel was additionally pressured to concede that at an appropriate time it would withdraw from some of the territory it has held since 1967. For Mrs. Meir, who still remembers bitterly that as Foreign Minister in 1957 she had to bow to John Foster Dulles' dictate and hand back the captured Sinai territory to Egypt, there is one large proviso. This time, any such arrangement will have to guarantee Israeli security.

There were other optimistic notes in the course of the week. Certainly the most unexpected was a display of realism on the part of fedayeen leaders. Up to now, the Palestinians have represented perhaps the most insoluble problem of the Middle East cold war Meeting in Beirut, officials of the multigroup Palestine Liberation Organization hinted that they might be willing to take part in any discussion on peace. Shafiq Hout, the P.L.O.'s head for Lebanon, explained why there was a trend among the fedayeen organizations to move away from long-held demands for the restoration of all of pre-Israel Palestine "If we say no to peace negotiations, Hout told TIME Correspondent Karsten Prager, "we're finished. We will have turned out to be great martyrs and lousy politicians.

That sense of Realpolitik was the reason why the Palestinians—except for George Habash's militantly Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—may be willing to settle for a

new Palestinian nation, vintage 1973. It would include the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip and the Hemmeh region around Lake Tiberias in the panhandle between Syria, Israel and Jordan.

John Mars about Israel and Palestine cocusting as negliphors." Why not?" answered Hout. "The situation is no longer what it was before Oct. 6. In negotiation now, we will stand at an equal level. We can therate no rewitch we could not do when they were still swimming in the Suer Canal. We can keep a set. When Knows? We might live next to one another, engage in peaceful competition. Level final settlements for another time.

perhaps another generation."
Even if the Palestinian proposal becomes policy, major obstacles have to come policy, major obstacles have to provide the proposal becomes policy major desired the fact and the subject of the proposal proposa

The Beirut declaration however was at least a start on the long road to neace. So were Mrs. Meir's discussions in Washington and the Egyptian moves. In the meantime, nagging and possibly dangerous details remain to be settled For a beginning, the cease-fire lines have to be drawn. A place for long-range negotiations has to be selected, although by last week everybody's choice seemed to be Geneva. The representatives who will sit around the table must be chosen. With memories of the squabbles over the shape of the conference table that preceded the Viet Nam peace negotiations in Paris, U.S. diplomats, at least, could only be horrified at the thought of seating perhaps a dozen delegations instead of only four

Evaporating Optimism. Before peace can succeed, however, there has to be optimism, and at week's end some of that seemed to be evaporating. President Sadat made a hurried trip to Kuwait in company with Syria's President Hafez Assad and stopped off on his way back to Cairo for discussions in Saudi Arabia. Sadat was angry over the Israelis' continued presence on the west bank of the canal in what he feels is defiance of the original cease-fire provisions. Nighttime blackouts were ordered again in the Egyptian capital. Wrote Editor Mohammed Hassanein Heikal of the influential Cairo newspaper Al Ahram: "I find a return to war more probable than going to a peace conference." The various moves could, of course, simply be posturing on the part of the Arabs But after the events of the past month in the Middle East, no one could ever be sure of that again.



"Where's my father?"

"Good Thing, This Cease-Fire"

By the middle of last week. 791 Swedse, Finns, Irishmen and Austrians from the United Nations peace-keeping force in Opprus had picked their way through heavily mixed areas to positions between the 200 min. The present and the contraction of the second of the contraction of the second of the contraction of the second of the second period to be 40 years of the Second period to be 40 years of the Second free line on the west lank of the Second Canal. Last week lank of the Second can be seen that the second can be seen

Just north of Great Bitter Lake. a U.N. station wagon drove up to a military police checkpoint. Vast clouds of dust, churned up by tank trailers, had all but obscured the "UN" that had been painted on the once white vehicle. An Irish officer in a powder-blue beret shook his head. "How can we fix the lines as they were on Oct. 22 [the day of the first Security Council truce]? None of us were here then. We don't know where the parties were, and you can't believe either side. Our business now is to try to keep it from starting up again.

Before the war began, the captain had been stationed at one of the U.N. observer posts along the canal. "Now my post is mobile." he said with a grin. "We have six patrols moving up and down the canal." In the back of the vehicle were a couple of days "rations of food and water, and bedding for him and two fellow officers."

Fruit and Cologne. About 20 miles inside Egypt on a barren ridge, we passed an unshaven Israeli artillery sergeant sitting in a ditch eating sardines and fresh tomatoes. "Good thing, this ceasefire." he said. "Just so it doesn't cease." On a parallel road to the south, a grisly Israeli soldier flagged us down. The smell of corpses was heavy in the air. Just beyond us was Kilometer 101, where Israeli and Egyptian generals had met under the protective cloak of the U.N. An Israeli officer told us: "Both sides want this cease-fire to work. The

other day an Egyptian general turned over to us some of his own men who had sneaked through our lines because he feared that the arrangements for supplying the Third Army would break down if he didn't."

Relations between the Israelis and the Egyptinas at Kilometer 101 were described by a U.N. man as "good." At that point in the wilderness, the trucks carrying relief supplies for the remnant of the Third Army, which is surrounded on the east bank, move into Israeliheld territory. We saw an example of the little courtesies that hostile army offeers sometimes allow one another

when battles have ended. An Israeli officer passed out some fresh fruit: an Egyptian reciprocated with eau de cologne. The Egyptian told his Israeli counterpart: "Since no one really knows who won this war, the chances for peace are much better than ever." The Israeli nodded

Sand-colored five-ton Egyptian trucks with relief supplies from Cairo for the Third Army lumbered past Kilometer [0] into Israeli-held territory in

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the direction of the city of Suez. The drivers were U.N. noncommissioned officers. About ten miles north of Suez. a truck with cartons of food and cigarettes had arrived at U.N. observation post Kilo-a collection of whitewashed shacks on the edge of the canal. There we talked with Vienna-born Joseph Nekhan, 27, a first lieutenant in an Austrian tank hattalion who had been seconded to the U.N. Emergency Force. Below him, Egyptian soldiers in beige work clothes carried cartons from the trucks to a makeshift wharf. Israeli officers spot-checked the boxes for contraband by occasionally ripping open a

package of sweets or a carton of cigarcties. The Egyptians then put the cartons on Russian-made amphibious tanks that churned slowly across the canal to the east side where they were unloaded. The process was slow and laborious.

"It's going much better now," said Nekhan. "When we came here on Sunday with the first truck, we were not sure how to make contact with the poptions across the canal. So we raised out U.N. flag, took a bullborn and shared calling them in English. Russian, German. Ambus and French. We got no response until the state of the popplete to deliver. We have water for pupilet to deliver. We have water for you. When we said water in French we got a reply. That was the key word.

"My orders," said the lieutenant, are to keep things going. Only if there is a dispute do I try to help. The other night there was some shooting near by from the Arab side. The Egyptians were disturbed because the Israelis kept shooting flares over the positions all

night. We got them both to stop. "Peace Boulevard." The mood was starkly different in Suez itself. The Israelis hold three quarters of the port city. The residential quarters remain in Egyptian hands, but the port, the oil refineries and the suburbs are occupied by Israeli troops. On all the main boulevards leading from Ismailia down into the port city, there was evidence of bitter fighting. Whole blocks of apartment buildings have been destroyed. Many of them still contained bodies. Part way down the main street, now nicknamed Peace Boulevard," two burned-out Egyptian trucks blocked the road. On one side were Israeli troops, some of them carrying captured Russian-made Kalashnikov rifles. Twenty yards across the street were Egyptians, some of them with captured Uzi submachine guns from Israel. The troops on either side leered at one another but so far had made no move to shoot.

At a point exactly midway between the two sides in the street, U. N. observers had set up a table. "No one goes beyout this table except us," said a U. N. officer. Three Finnish soldiers wearing newly painted blue helmets and carrying Belgian FN rifles marched stiffly up and down. Overhead, an Israeli Mirage appeared and swiftly disappeared. Two Egyptian missiles fired and missed, leaving white puffs of smoke in the cloudless arrise & V.

So far, the U.N men have had tittle more to do than report violations and arrange "local agreements." Said the officer "In one spot some Arabs titted to move forward, and the bratelis threat-water of the said that the said to the said to the said to the said that the said the

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-6 ANTIAIRCRAFT MISSILE ON EGYPTIAN TRUCK, CAPTURED BY ISRAELIS NEAR GREAT BITTER LAKE

A Battlefield Post-Mortem

Every war undergoes an autopsy. Even before the last guns are silenced, military experts start examining each thrust, parry and feint of the armies on the battlefields, hoping to discover a yet unknown tactic or a new strategic wrinkle. Post-mortems on the latest Middle East war have begun. Computers at NATO's Brussels headquarters, for example, are being fed data from the war that, according to a NATO spokesman, will "test whether the battle effectiveness of

some weapons has changed Some basic questions have already been raised by experts about conventional ideas of how to deploy armor and airpower on the battlefield. Ian Smart. deputy director of Britain's Royal Institute of International Affairs, notes that "Soviet technology in Arab hands has consigned to history" an era in which the "tank and aircraft ruled the battlefield." The introduction of new highly mobile and simply operated antraircraft and antitank missiles. Smart argues, "marks a transformation that recalls the way in which the longbow enabled the English foot soldier of the 14th century to overcome the mounted knight. The Arab guiding his Snapper [antitank missile] to destroy a 50-ton tank has been refighting the Battle of Crécy." Indeed, for the first time since 1916, when the tank made its combat debut in the Battle of the Somme, a single infantryman armed with an antitank guided weapon was potentially an equal match for the armor-plated behemoth

Universal Lessons. This could have enormous implications for NATO The alliance calculates the balance of strength between itself and the Warsaw Pact nations largely in terms of tanks and aircraft. NATO does not seem to have paid as much attention to antitank missiles as has the U.S.S.R. Moreover, it has generally regarded surface-to-air missiles as primarily defensive weapons

The Egyptian thrust across the Suez Canal demonstrated that these missiles can also play an offensive role, enabling an attacking force to establish and hold a beachhead. With the extremely mobile SA-6, beachheads can be expanded by slowly moving the missiles forward, thus increasing the area protected from aerial assault by their umbrella.

Other military experts caution against drawing universal lessons from the war too quickly. Moreover, experts note that advances in weapons technology trigger the development of countermeasures that eventually neutralize the

original advantages.

American engineers are already dissecting and studying a Soviet SA-6 antraircraft missile that was captured intact by the Israelis. Presumably, they will soon be able to develop electronic devices to confuse that missile's targeting mechanism-just as they did with the Soviet SA-2 and SA-3 missiles after U.S. pilots encountered them over North Viet Nam

An electronic antidote may also be found for the new antitank missiles. One U.S. Army systems analyst insists that missiles will no more make the tank obsolete than the invention of the machine gun made the infantryman obsolete. The mechanized unit, which includes tanks. will still be needed to provide armies with speed, firepower and shock action on the ground. "The stakes of armored warfare have merely been raised," this analyst adds. "It will just be a lot more bloody than before

British tactical experts note that the most likely battlefield for any NATO-Warsaw Pact clash would be the northern part of Germany-a region plagued by terrible weather and heavy clouds The climate would make it very difficult to employ the umbrella-like missile cover for troops that the Egyptians used so successfully to protect their Sinai beachhead. The new Soviet antitank weapons, which rely on a steering mechanism controlled by a soldier who can see his target, would be less effective on the hilly terrain of Central Europe -which provides natural cover for tanks-than it was on the wide-open stretches of the Sinai desert

Perhaps the most important military lessons of the war are those reconfirming several orthodox maxims:

▶ Overconfidence can be an army's own worst enemy. A retired Israeli major general. Matityahu Peled, admitted "Israel was afflicted by an infirmity derived from an overconfidence from laurel wreaths from the past."

▶ The best military intelligence is no guarantee against a surprise attack. (Reason: it is easier to measure a foe's capabilities than his intentions.)

Donce a surprise attack is launched, a strategic buffer zone, like the Sinai, enables a nation to abandon its first line of defense (e.g., Israel's Bar-Lev Line) without exposing its major population centers to danger

But possibly the most significant lesson was that demonstrated by the massive resupply efforts undertaken by both the Soviet Union and the U.S. They proved that an efficient logistics system is the backbone of any sustained conflict. America's airlift capacity showed itself able, on very short notice, to mount an intercontinental round-the-clock schedule

No Substitute. Finally, there is the sson to be learned from the Egyptians failure to exploit their initial advantage in the Sinai by pushing out from their beachhead toward the Mitla Pass, and the Israelis' consequent success in discovering and punching through a soft spot in enemy lines to open a front on the west bank of the Suez Canal. Despite advances in electronics and weapons technology, there is, finally, no substitute for officers who can take advantage of unexpected battlefield opportunities by improvising new tactics.

Rift Among Friends, Reflection About Foes

Like an earthquake, the fighting in the Middle East has sent tremors round the world and caused diplomatic seismographs to quiver in Washington and Moscow—and most of the capitals in between Old alliances have been shaken, and new accommodations have proved less durable than they were advertised to be. In the following stories TIME examines the impact of the war on an old alliance, the NATO pact, and on a new understanding, the Soviet-American detente

A Dogfight in the Atlantic Alliance

One casualty of the Middle East war way be a bystander—the Atlantic Altiance Driven apart by divergent poltiance Driven apart by divergent poltiance Driven apart by divergent poltier and the politic politic

Bill of Complaints. Most of the dust was kicked up by the Nixon Administration, which felt angered and betrayed by the failure of America's European allies to support the U.S. in backing Israel-and said so. To begin with. Washington was incensed by the fact that Prime Minister Edward Heath declined to let Britain propose an American-initiated cease-fire resolution in the United Nations. When the giant U.S. airlift to Israel began, several European countries pointedly told Washington that American transport planes could neither refuel in their territory, even at American airbases, nor fly over it. Portugal alone cooperated, allowing the U.S. aerial convoy to touch down at Lajes Field in the Azores for refueling.

The flat no from allies was only the beginning of Washington's bill of complaints. Bonn made it clear that it did not much like the U.S.'s supplying Israel through West German ports but it did nothing to stop the flow so long as the fighting was going on. Once the cease-fire was announced, however, Chancellor Willy Brandt's West German government politely asked the U.S. to quit using its ports. Finally, embarrassed by a reporter's inquiry about an Israeli ship that was loading arms at Bremerhaven, West German Foreign Ministry State Secretary Paul Frank told U.S. Minister Frank Cash that the U.S. could no longer use German ports in the resupply effort. In a breach of protocol, Bonn publicly announced its refusal

The German rebuil, on top of every-hing else, triggered a viscerally suppyresponse in Washington. State Department. Spokesama Robert McCloskey complained that Americas friends were trying to separate themselves from us publicly. "Henry Kissinger exploded." I don't care what happens to NATO, I'm so disgusted," the new Secretary of State eppertedly said. The State Department word disgusted to describe his feelings about the Atlantica allies. Whether he did or not, disgust was clearly the official sentiment in Washington.

"There has been a propensity to lean on the U.S.," insisted one Defense official. "The Europeans cannot use the U.S. as a crutch and pretend they don't have a contribution to make. The U.S. cannot tolerate half of an involvement." The allies, he added, should look beyond

their own myopic: regional interests and realize that in the long run. American actions in the Middle East will keep Arab oil out of the clutches of the Russians. The allies are mistaken, he noted further, if they think American forces in Europe are committed only to NATO. In fact, he said, they are available to counter threats outside NATO's geographic area.

Although stunned by the harsh American response, the Europeans were not too stunned to offer angry rebuttal in the first place, complained the Europeans. Washington was insensitive to the Coninent's particular oil crisms the Tab cuback will mean inconvenience and some disconfort for the U.S. which gets only 11% of its oil from the Middle East. For Europe, which impost 72% of its miss unemployment and economic exattance for the control of the Control of

In the second place, they argued, washington had failed to offer them even minimal consultation on what was up to, particularly before the world-wide alert of American forces. "To put the second of the second of

Zero for Conduct. The Europeans were almost equally upset by Washington's implicit argument that the U.S. somehow knows best. The U.S., said the Frankfurter Rundschau, has a peculiar definition of partnership, "namely, that one side makes the decisions and the other obeys." Added the Sunday Times of London: "It has never been a term of NATO membership that European governments should support the Zionist imperatives weighing upon American Presidents." The paper was referring to the common European belief that because of the Jewish vote, the U.S. has been blindly one-sided in its support of Israel. "It is unthinkable that Europe should say amen to all American initiatives," said Andre Fontaine, editor in chief of Le Monde. "Europe must forge its own unity if it is to make its weight felt." Le Monde itself complained that the U.S. had acted toward Europe like a school child who had scored a zero for conduct

Even American experts were disturbed by Washington's unprecedented lashing of its allies. "The policy pursued by the U.S. has hurt in the most fundamental sense U.S. relations with Eu-







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rope," says Columbia University Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski. "It is difficult to imagine a course more calculated to damage alliance relationships than the one followed by the U.S. in recent days.

How deep and how permanent is the rift? Karl Dietrich Bracher, a respected West German political scientist, thinks it can be easily healed. "Many present commentaries seem overpessimistic and overlook reciprocal interests," he says. "A serious showdown between Europe and the U.S. seems to be a purely theoretical issue." From the other side of the Atlantic, there was a feeling that bygones ought to be bygones. "We have made our point," says one State Depart-ment official. "We have shown our anger. Now we can go on with business.

Less Friendly. Business no doubt will go on-but perhaps in a somewhat less friendly way. Unquestionably the wrench in the alliance is more severe than at any point since 1956, when Britain and France, along with Israel, invaded Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal. The U.S., working through the United Nations General Assembly. forced them to retreat. The partnership eventually recovered from that wound but it took a long time. The convalescence this time may be even longer. The Europeans are far stronger economically than they were in 1956, and the U.S. is. relatively speaking, far weaker. Partly because of President Nixon's initiatives toward détente, the Europeans are less afraid of the Russians. Also partly because of détente, they are less trusting of the U.S., which they feel has gone over their heads to talk to Moscow

Until now, Western European economic cooperation has not resulted in much political unity. The current dispute with the U.S. may bring that about. Dusting off an old idea of Charles de Gaulle's, French President Georges Pompidou last week called for a summit conference of the nine Common Market members before the end of the year, to be followed by regular consultations between the heads of

government. The initial reaction from other European governments was favorable, and Denmark invited the leaders to meet in Copenhagen next month. Washington has often complained about the lack of a common European voice. But the U.S. may be disappointed when the Europeans do start to speak as one, particularly if they turn against the U.S., as they undoubtedly would have done on the Middle East

The U.S. has created a situation says John Tuthill, director of the Parisbased Atlantic Institute of International Affairs, "in which we may be pushing the Europeans to unite, but to unite against us, not with us." Months ago, Kissinger talked of 1973 as "the Year of Europe." He meant that after the war in Viet Nam, the U.S. and Europe would begin a new dialogue. That dialogue is now beginning, although perhaps not quite as Kissinger intenued

U.S.-Russian Détente: Is It Durable?

The Middle East war not only tested the strength of the Atlantic Alliance. The near-confrontation of the two superpowers also raised serious doubts about the viability of the détente achieved with the Soviet Union by the Nixon White House. Although it was hardly his intention, the President virtually conceded, at his Washington press conference two weeks ago, that something had gone wrong with his policy of easing relations with the Soviet Union when he spoke of "the most difficult crisis we have had since the Cuban confrontation of 1962." The logical question, which spokesmen for the President have yet to answer adequately: How could a Cuban-type exercise in eyeballing take place in the midst of a détente

week-in trying to dispatch additional troops for the emergency force in the Middle East. Said one U.N. observer "Détente's got off to a very wobbly start The cracks are showing everywhere.

More telling, perhaps, was the treatment in the Soviet press of President Nixon, who, for an American politician. has hitherto been afforded extraordinary deference. After the U.S. military alert, an unusually blunt statement by Tass accused Washington of "absurd reports about the Soviet military alert intended to "intimidate" the U.S.S.R. Soviet newspapers, which had virtually ignored "Vatergatski," even began hinting to the Russian public that Nixon might not survive in office.

Soviet commentators, however, have



"Cooperation."

that was designed to avoid just that kind

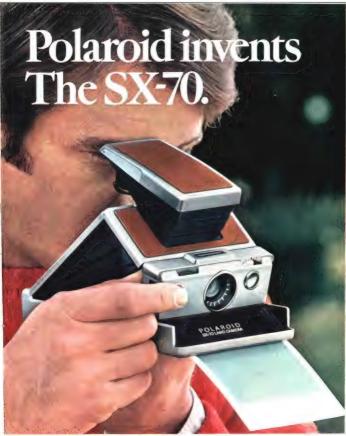
Despite White House assessments that Nixon's knowledge of Soviet Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev had averted an even more scarifying crisis, there were other signs of strain in Washington's relationship with Moscow. Although the U.S. and the Soviet Union had jointly hammered out the basis for the United Nations' resolution establishing a ceasefire, the two powers clashed repeatedly at the Security Council over the makeup of the U.N. Emergency Force.

At one point, the sour relations between burly Soviet Delegate Yakov Malik and the U.S.'s acerbic Ambassador John Scali broke into a nasty public spat. In a shrewd parliamentary maneuver. Malik tried to get certain changes he favored incorporated in a revised text of a report by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on the U.N. force. Scali, who thought that he had reached agreement with Malik on the report in a behindthe-scenes huddle, was apoplectic. "Breach of faith!" he shouted, shaking his finger at Malik, as other delegates watched in stunned dismay. "Nonsense!" Malik shouted back. As a result of the bickering, the U.N. was stalled -until agreement was reached late last

stopped short of painting the Middle East dispute as a fracture in détente. Indeed, Brezhnev would appear to have as much riding on the policy as Nixon. One reason is that the Soviet leaders never perceived détente as an all-inclusive mood of relaxation, much as the West would like to see that develop, but as a policy option to be applied in areas of mutual interest. For the moment, those areas, in Russian eyes, are 1) the reduction of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Europe and 2) the expansion of Soviet-American trade.

Test for the Allies. As it happened the Vienna conference on reduction of forces was just getting under way, and the détente crisis could hardly have come at a worse moment for the allies. The arms talks are viewed as a litmus of Soviet intentions: How far is Moscow willing to go in pulling back part of its huge army poised on the border of Western Europe in order to relax tensions? The talks will also be a test of whether the Atlantic Alliance has the cohesion and strength to engage in a long, hard and potentially divisive negotiating process without splintering into rival factions

The other side of the coin is that the Russians are desperately anxious for



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American trade and technology. Even as military alarms were being sounded round the world. U.S. cilinen, paradoxim with the world. U.S. cilinen, paradoxim paradoxim distribution of the world. U.S. cilinen, paradoxim paradoxim distribution equipment in Moscow. American technicians estimate that Soviet drilling and extraction equipment lay 15 years behind U.S. cilinen to be un technical paradoxim distribution of the society press berating Washington's diplomatic actions at the same time that was withfully quoting American basic trade barriers' with the Soviet Union.

The events of the past two weeks made any quick agreement by Congress to Soviet trade concessions more remote than ever. Last week Peter Falanchelf White House adviser on foresten oconomic policy, asked Congress control to drop trade legislation that would grant the Russians most-favored-nation status. The move for delay was partly a face-saving election of delay was partly a face-saving election. A Senate neuralment sponsored by Senator Henry Jackson, trying MYs to free embarrassingly certain of passage.

No Love Affair. The delay is likely to inspire many members of Congress to a closer examination of whether preferralial trade advantages to the Soviets—that is, credits and advanced technology—are in the US. interest. "Trade should be seen, as a straight trade-off;" says Morton Halperin, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a former National Security Council member. "What can we get for those concessions."

Once the Middle East situation has subsided, it is likely that defente as a whole will also be viewed in a somewhat more cautious and realistic light, at least in Washington. "Most people of the control of the contro

There seems no reason why agreements already struck for Soviet-American cooperation in space, medicine and other research should be adversely affected by superpower conflict. Moreover, the continuing threat of a nuclear confrontation suggests the need for even limited efforts to strike new safeguards. Marshall Shulman, director of Columbia University's Russian Institute, thinks that the Middle East can serve as a good case study for charting future tensions. The progress of detente is limited. It's going to be a zigzag course with episodes of tension. The basic question is: To what extent did some restraints hold? Detente does not mean that the Russians won't press an advantage, but how far they will go without straining the relationship.

THAILAND

The Caretaker Premier



THAILAND'S PREMIER SANYA

merly rector of Thammasat University, has only gradually recovered from the shock of that brief revolution, which saw scores of Thai students gunned down in the streets of Bangkok by government security forces.

Well aware that he heads merely a caretaker government. Samya waiter till alst week before taking any kind of desizive action. To the delight of the populace, he froze the assets of the three caided officers and began a probe of their extensive real estate holdings and myreniter's activity, through, has been proposed to the control of the proposed of the control of the area constitution for the country and it has been activity and the call of the control of the country and it has been activity and the control of the country and it has been activity and the control of the country and the elections that he has promised to hold within a nine most.

Drafting a constitution—a task Sanya has entrusted to a broad-based committee of judges, lawyers and law professors—will not be all that easy. Any new political charter for Thailand must

assign an important role to its very popular King, even though Bhumibol personally desires little political power. (In fact, the King has hinted that he is even uncomfortable about the role he was forced to play in ousting the former leaders.) A new constitution must not only exclude the military from politics but must also create a government so stable that the military will not be tempted to overthrow it. Moreover, the members of the new national Parliament must be selected in a way that will not confuse the politically unsophisticated peasantry Above all, the constitution must find some method of preventing the growth of dozens of tiny political factions and splinter groups, which paralyzed Thailand's previous attempts at parliamentary government.

Sarya's cautious pace and his concentration on the constitution have irritated Bangkok's newspapers. Now that they have complete freedom, they have become vocal and critical. The papers have chieded the Fremier for doing little to help. Thailand's sluggish economy, curb scarring inflation and climinate rampant corruption. The English-language Bangach Campilat, police services and the complete police services have deteriorated so badly that "robbers have deteriorated so badly that "robbers have deteriorated so badly that "robbers have deteriorated one of New York and Chicago."

Fear of Reprisal. The students voice a different complaint. They worry that Sanya, a gentle, scholarly Buddhist who studied law in London, may not be able to keep the ambitious young Narong from returning to power. Leaders of the twelve-man executive of the National Student Center of Thailand. which organized most of the demonstrations against the Thanom regime, are so afraid of reprisals from the military that they sleep in a different house each night. Explained one student leader Colonel Narong still has his followers We don't want to go out in the dark night alone." There were so many rumors that the ousted leaders were about to return that Defense Minister Dawce Chuliasapya had to refute them at a press conference: "Are you really afraid of them? Why be afraid of two or three people when demonstrations can be staged by huge waves of people:

Despite the fears of a possible military coup, the students still remain solidly committed to Sanya. "We must give the government time to work," observed Prasarn Triratvorakul, a Student Center leader. Because three university rectors and one dean now sit in the Cabinet, the students have an unprecedented line of communication into the new government. This easy access seems to overwhelm some of them. Reflecting the modesty and caution that marked the students' revolution. Prasarn remarked: "We are being listened to. But if our ideas get too radical, then the government should stop listening. We don't want the government to recognize us too much.

ASIA

Honorable Settlement

In a face-saving deal likely to raise incredulous eyebrows in both countries. South Korea and Japan last week moved to bury the affair of Kim Dae Jung. The case involved the leading opposition spokesman, whose abduction from a Tokyo hotel room had been erroding itse between the two countries for the past three months.

After a week of intensive negotiations. South Korea dispatched Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil to Japan to bow and offer an apology for the kidnaping to Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, Under the terms of the compromise the povernment of President Chung Hee Park conceded that the chief "suspect" in the kidnaping was Kim Dong Woon, the former first secretary of the Korean embassy in Tokyo and a suspected agent of South Korea's Central Intelligence Agency. South Korea, though, insisted that whatever Kim Dong Woon might have done was not in any way an official act, but entirely private. That distinction was essential to the compromise. The

government of Prime Minister Tanaka had stated earlier that Japanese sovereignty would have been violated only if it turned out that the kidnaping was an "official" act of the Seoul government.

As for Kim Dae Jung, Korea's Foreign Minister said that he had been freed from protective custody in Seoul. South Korea would waive any action against Kim for past activities if he did not repeat his "crimes"—presumably public opposition to the Park regime

Passing Blame. The deal reflected the eagerness of both governments to end the affair, if only for economic reasons. The South Koreans are heavily dependent on the Japanese economically, while the Japanese were getting jittery about their vast investments (\$350 million) in South Korea, which are now greater than those of the U.S. The settlement cleared the way for a longdelayed ministerial conference to decide on new Japanese aid commitments. Moreover, it allowed the Park regime to pass the blame to an expendable underling, and permitted the Japanese government to find "cause for congratulation" that "the victim of the crime has regained his freedom.



PRESIDENT D



MOURNERS AT ANNIVERSARY MEMORIAL

The Curious Rehabilitation of Diem

Ten years after his murder in a bloody military coup; the memory of South Viet Nam's President Ngo Dinh Diem Jaist week stirred a curious nostaligis in Saigon, About 3.00 cityls Victorian cathedral to attend a memorial service, then moved on an early centergry where Diem lies burled under an inconspicuous concrete slab. Goings toffed. Drums crete slab. Goings toffed Drums crete slab construction of the property of the property

President Nguyen Van Thieu, who had backed Diem's overthrow, helped defray the costs of the commencation with a \$1,000 contribution, presumably in hopes of using the contribution, presumably in hopes of using the contribution on-Communist ranks within the country. He is in no danger of being overthrown as Diem was. Bul growing economic problems at home, along with the continuing threat of along with the continuing threat of six mean Thieu needs all the help he can get.

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20 mg, far 1,4 mg, recotine as per cigarette, FTC Report SEP1, 73

IRELAND

The Canny Copter Caper

The length and breadth of Ireland No finer sight to see. The day the Provie birdie Released the Mountjoy three

A new little ditty is now being sung in Catholic pubs all over Northern fre-land. It is also burning the ears of Irish Prime Minister Liam Coggrave, as well it might. Last week the militant Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army pulled a canny caper in down-town Dublin that made a mockety of Coggrave's get-tough policy on the IR.A.

At 3:35 p.m., the shuffling exercise routine in Mountjoy Prison was noisily disturbed when a helicopter suddenly settled in the yard, scattering prisoners in all directions. One Mountioy warder thought it was a surprise visit from Defense Minister Patrick Donegan, who is fond of helihopping round the country. Instead, a masked man stepped down and trained a gun on the guards as three prisoners bolted forward and scrambled into the cabin of the chopper, which then whirred away. Freed in the daring daytime snatch, which took only a minute. were three top Provisionals: Seamus Twomey, 54, the former Provo chief of staff; Kevin Mallon, 35, a commander of I.R.A. units on the border; and Joe O'Hagan, 50, a top Provo gunrunner.

Prime Minister Cosgrave was said to be "severely shocked by the seapade," particularly since his eightmonth-old government had boasted that its tight security and tough crackdowns had kept the Provo gunmen under control. The opposition Fizana Fail Party immediately blasted the government for its "incompetence in security matters," its "incompetence in security matters."

Over! 5tep. The operation had been meticulously planned. According to police, the first overt step was taken two days before the breakout when a young man with an American accent. calling himself-PMr. Leonard' arranged to rent an Alouette II helicopter from Dublin's Irish Helicopters. Lot, It would be used, he explained, to photograph historical sites near Dublin.

Instead of snapping pictures. Leonard instructed Pilot Thompson Boyes to land at an isolated field located in the village of Stradbally. Leonard then bolted away as two armed, masked men approached. One gunnan climbed abourd and ordered the pilot to fly to Mountgoy and the control of the pilot of the pilot of the stated, the copier put down on a deserted race track outside Dublin: the LR.A men sped off in a bilacked task.

At week's end, despite a massive police and army manhunt, the escapees had not been found. To add insult to injury, the daring jailbreak cost the LR. A not a penny. Irish Helicopters Ltd, had rented the Alouette to the mysterious "Mr. Leonard" without asking for any advance payment







LEVESQUE & WEEPING SUPPORTER

CANADA

Non to Separatism

"This will be the most important election in Canada's history," declared election in Canada's history," declared Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa. Hyperbole aside, last week's Quebec elections did involve something less parochial than the issues that normally dominate the politics of provincial Canton and Artstake whether Quebec would remain in the Canadian confederation or opt out.

When the returns were in, Bourassa's Liberal Party had buried the separaist opposition, winning 102 out of 110 seats in the assembly. Despite the landslide, the separatist Parti Québecios did score a victory of sorts. By winning six seats, it became the official opposition in the assembly and gained about 30% of the total popular vole.

Secession from predominantly English-speaking Canada-or separatism -has been an issue in Quebec for more than two centuries. But only in the past decade has it emerged as a potent political force. In the 1970 election, the péquistes (for the initials P.Q. in Parti Québécois) won 23.7% of the vote and seven seats in the assembly. In 1970 a separatist terror organization called the Front de Libération du Québec (F.L.O.) kidnaped the British trade commission er and murdered Pierre Laporte, the Liberal Party's Labor Minister. Ottawa's response was blunt; it imposed near martial law under the War Measures Act, and the Montreal streets were patrolled by helmeted troops

Although the F.L.Q. violence diminished after the government crackdown, separatism—and the problems that gave it birth—remained. Many French-speaking Quebockers still saw themselves as what Separatist Theoretician Pierre Vallières acidly calls "the white niggers of Canada." They are still paid

less than English-speaking Canadians, in a province whose economy is controlled by English interests.

Since 1968, the Parti Ouebecois has been led by Rene Levesque, 51, a brilliant journalist who left the Liberals because of their strong support of federalism. Although the performer children and the strong support of federalism strong strong the strong through the performer children intellectuals as assembly candidates, the momentum of the campaign gradually swung, to the Liberals, whose slogan, Bouraza constraint (Bourasa builden was a not too welled him that Lévesque

Sigh of Relief. Separatism, warred boursas, would force Quebe to create a new currency, which would immediately low value in relation to the Cadevastating attack against the Pari Quebecois. The Liberals were also helped by their undeniably good econemic record. In Boursasan 3/5 years more record. In Boursasan 3/5 years a second welfare program—including free medical and dental care, undestress were controlled to the control of the contro

Outside Quebec, politicians, regardless of party affiliation, heaved a sigh of relief when returns indicated a resounding defeat for the Parti Quebecois. Said a satisfied Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who heads the national Liberal Party: "Quebeckers prefer Canada to separatism."

Shaken by the margin of their defeat — they had expected to win at least 20 seats—Parti Québecois leaders last week locked themselves into a series of strategy meetings as they tired to determine where they can go from here. "There will always be a next time." Set except the defense acrowd of weeping particular to the control of the c

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PEOPLE

Quick to hop on the Watergate wagon, Columbia Records corralled the Senate select committee chairman to make a record for them called Senator Sam at Home. Result: a coup running over with homilies. Bloviating through 77 years of memories. Sam Ervin laces his bourbon with saccharin and recites his favorite lyrics-Grow Tall My Son and Through the Years. Moving to sterner stuff (our national anthem, the First Amendment and Rudyard Kipling's ode to the governing class: "If you can keep your head when all about you/ Are losing theirs"). Uncle Sam then opines that the King James Bible is the best "road map to travel by through this world Finally he pays tribute to his wife Margaret, declaring: "I've had the same girl walking beside me for 49 years and she's never made a misstep during all that time.

Succumbing to the Ten Best syndrome, Feminist Gloria Steinem totted up her list of liberated men for Today's Health magazine. Her choices: the late Senator Robert Kennedy (he listened to women). Economist John Kenneth Galbraith (he changed his mind about women). Crusader Ralph Nader (he is interested in issues regardless of their progenitors' gender), Congresswoman Bella's husband Martin Abzug (he is supportive). Athlete Rafer Johnson (he is gentle). There were also the farm workers' Cesar Chavez (for his belief in nonviolence). Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme the said if there is hope for peace, it lies in depolarizing sex roles), Franklin Thomas (president of Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant restoration project), U.S. Congressman Ron Dellums (he appeals to a coalition of have-nots) and Black Panther Bobby Seale, who made the pantheon with his statement that "real manhood depends on the subjugation of no one.

One Jew the Russians seem determined to keep around is Valery Panov, 35, once a leading dancer with the Kirov Ballet. In March 1972, Panov applied for exit visas for himself and his wife Galena, 24, to emigrate to Israel Reaction was vicious and immediate Panov was dismissed from the Kirov. while Galena was demoted from soloist to the corps de ballet. Since then. Panov has been continually harassed. His phone has been cut off, he can receive no mail from abroad, and he has been roughed up by the secret police. Now confined to the city of Leningrad, the Panovs said last week that they had gone on a hunger strike "to the end." In New York, an emergency committee, including Mike Nichols, Beverly Sills, Joanne Woodward and Hal Prince, has set out to use concern over the Panovs' fate to influence the Russians to release them One obvious leverage point is the proposed 1974 visit of the Kirov Ballet to the U.S., which could be boycotted by an aroused public

Prima Ballerina Morgot Fonteyn, 54. will need all her poise to stay in the spotlight at the gala benefit in Manhattan for Washington, D.C.'s National Ballet next week. Appearing as Princess Aurora in a sequence from Sleeping Beauty. Fonteyn will be supported by a quartet of amateur ballerinas but professional scene-stealers: Film Star Paulette Goddard, 62. as the Queen. TV Panelist Arlene Francis, 65, as the Lilac Fairy. Broadway Dancer Gwen Verdon, 47, as a comical Little Red Ridinghood, and Actress Julie Newmar, 38, as the White Cat. Newmar rises to a majestic 6 ft. 10 in. on her toes, towering over her National Ballet partner Dean Badolato, 5 ft. 4 in. Said Julie regretfully, "I wanted John Lindsay to partner me. After all, he's done everything else." Instead, the mayor was recruited to help carry onstage the White Cat, who will be seated on a cushion, purring

Assembled for a kaffeeklatsch on Barbara Walters' syndicated television show Not for Women Only were three bestselling authors and their analyst Jacqueline Susann (Once Is Not Enough). Kurt Vonnegut Jr. (Breakfast of Champions). Alex Comfort (The Joy of Sex) and New York Times Book Reviewer Christopher Lehmann-Haupt participated in what turned out to be a brisk round of alternate back-patting and oneupmanship. Susann gushed to Vonnegut. who replaced her at the top of the lists: "I'm your No. I fan. People expect us to be enemies. We're not." Lehmann-Haupt reminded the authors that the Bible and the Boy Scout manual are still the alltime big sellers, but Com-fort retaliated with: "The Joy of Sex is quite possibly the most frequently stolen book in all of history." Vonnegut said he knew why: "I think it has a beautiful plot.

The child star of Lolita, now a postnymphet of 27, had to be hospitalized briefly on the eve of her wedding. Sue Lyon's ailment: strep throat and fatigue brought on by the hassles of arranging her marriage to a Colorado State prisoner, who is serving 40 years for seconddegree murder and aggravated robbery Sue first met Gary ("Cotton") Adamson. 33, in 1970, when she visited a friend who was sharing Gary's cell in a Los Angeles County jail. Now she plans to campaign for prison reform, specifically for prisoners' conjugal rights. As she puts it, "God said to procreate. The prison system is going against the Bible.

> PRISON REFORMER SUE LYON VISITS CONVICT FIANCE ADAMSON



FRANCIS, GODDARD & NEWMAR REHEARSE



CKIE MASSAGES KURT'S EGO



New White House Blast

After his April 30 television address announcing the departures of H.R. Haldeman. John Ehrlichman, Richard Kleindienst and John Dean from his Administration, a chastened Richard Nixon paid a surprise visit to the White House briefing room. There he told startled reporters to "continue to give me hell every time you think I'm wrong. That truce flag fluttered only briefly, and now hostilities between the Administration and the press are more intense than ever. Nixon's Oct. 26 outburst at TV's "outrageous, vicious, distorted reporting" was quickly echoed last week by his staff, in-laws and friends.



Lobbing the ball slowly?

White House Speechwriter Patrick Buchann said that legislation is need-of "to break the power of the networks." Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren chided CBS and NBC for their handling of the latest story on the ITT antitust case. On NBC'S Today, Son-in-Law Dassibility" of news reporting "has been matched by the irresponsibility of the people they may quote."

In some respects, the choice of TV as a prime target was puzzing. TV news, for one thing, has lagged well behind newspapers and magazines in investigating Watergate. Also, after the initial assaults by Spino Agnew. TV generally laries. What the Administration may resent is the networks' ability to serve as a giant megaphone for unfavorable stories that originate in print.

In substantive terms, the Administration can cite precious few examples of what it sees as TV's "distorted reporting." Appearing on the Dick Carent Convergence of the Carent Convergence of the Carent Convergence of the Con

Indeed, Cronkite figures prominently in the Administration's current offensive. While Nixon has declined to name names, the White House Communica-

tions Director, Ken Clawson, seemed to be speaking for the boss when he attacked Cronkite's interview with deposed Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox on the Evening News. "It was the biggest softball interview I've ever heard," Clawson complained. "He lobbed the ball slowly down the middle of the plate, stood there with a halfsmile on his mustachioed face while Cox knocked every one over the fence. It was a case of the interviewee being ten times more intelligent than the interviewer." Clawson also rapped the anchorman's selection of interview subjects: "Cronkite has done only three interviews this year-Archie Cox. John Dean and Daniel Ellsberg. Some balance, huh?" (The Ellsberg segment was actually aired on June 23. 1971; late last week Cronkite added new Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski to this year's tally.)

Cronkite blames this alleged imbalance squarely on the Administration. "We couldn't get anybody from the White House to come on our program," he said in an interview with Thim. "We made numerous requests to Haldeman. Ehrlichman. others, including the President himself They could have sat there and hit my marshmallows as far as they liked.

the requests to Haldeman Ehrlichman, others, including the President himself. They could have sat there and hit my marshmallows as far as they liked. Cronkite added that he seeks no fight with his White House critics. "They've got a right to their opinions on our news updagments, no matter how erroneous, vindictive or personal those opinions." The controversy reflects the long.

held White House conviction that the nation's airwaves are in enemy hands fone White House official even blamed television for the public outery over the Cox firing: "All three networks kept putting on people saying. "The public will detest this, 'blantantly calling for the public to respond. It was manufactured fervor." Hadn't the Administration often

manufactured its own fervor, arranging for bogus telegrams and letters of support to flood the White House? That was different." the official replied. That fervor was stirred up covertly, this effort was done on the tube, appealing directly to the people."

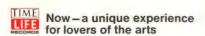
That distinction is atomishing on a That distinction is atomishing on a consistency of country of the dearth of responsible people eager to support the President on the Cox dismissal; even many Republicans were critical on that issue, And the notion that it was TV's reporting of the act, rather than the act itself, that caused the furor underscoresa basis White House misconception about

journalism's role For Cry. Last week the White House did issue point-by-point refutations of two damaging stories; that was a far cry from the blanket bombast that characterized its responses to earlier Watergate disclosures. But how much Nixon personally knows about the real quality of the news coverage of him is uncertain He is said to depend largely on a daily digest of print and TV stories prepared by Buchanan's office. (Judging by how often Nixon is offended by news items. his dependence on Buchanan's synopses may be a myth.) These summaries are kept private, but some do surface. Press Critic Ben Bagdikian recently checked one 1971 briefing against tapes and transcripts of that day's news. He reported last week that Buchanan's summary was curiously free of public anti-Nixon commentary and that the outline was rid-

dled with factual errors Bagdikian concluded that the summary "is filled with error for which major news organizations would fire a reporter. Yet it is precisely the practitioners of this slovenly and misleading reporting who for five years have been lecturing the American press on accuracy, fairness and balance." As Bagdikian himself has often pointed out, journalism's record for fairness and accuracy is hardly perfect. Further, the networks do wield immense power. But the Nixon Administration has yet to make a case that it has been systematically abused by the press

Old White House Mood

It was the fall of 1969 and the White Nones staff had a problem During one 30-day period. President Nixon had bombarded his aides with 21 separate memos on unfavorable press coverage of his Administration. His demands that pournalists and generate more pleasing exportage and commentary set off a frantic scramble. In a memo to HR Haddeman, Jeb Suart Magnuder commentary to get the media." was very unfruitful and wasteful of "very unfruitful and wasteful of the property of the



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hi-b publication. The Gramophime, called the HME HTE presentation "an enterprise that will leave its muck for more than a generation."

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It is a story that runs the gamu of human monitors from love to hate adoration to envilogisceness to implacable amper. It deals with the bases of thuman actions, such as sadismgreed for power and gold, vengeance, as well as the most lotty, such as courage, heroismsacrifice pure love. And all expressed in music of such diagrams, when and richness that it

The Miracle of Stereo Recording

Magner subretro and score cull for many special effects which even the most ambituous special effects which even the most ambituous special company finds impossible to stage. Only in the recording studio can there be executed by the work of the studios of the Rhinemandews swimming to and fro, or a tenor changing add denly into a bartone as Singfred pretends to be someone feels wooning his fair Boundhild.

And where Wagner's score calls for six harps for the Rainbow Bridge music, there are six harps (almost never heard in an opera house) Instead of the usual offstage clanking sound effects for the sound of the dwarfs hammering

For Donner's hammer striking the rock, a



An irreverent contem-

constructed, hung, and struck by two strong men. For Hagners, horn call and the answering calls, the score indicates steerhorms, most orchestras use trombones but this time special steerhorns were fashioned by an old instrument maker. And for a horn call they addifferent chair acter. Switzerland was combed for a base called congated born about 15 feet in length; still used congated born about 15 feet in length; still used

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And the musical world generally agrees with eappraisal of the producer that the conductor

(continued on next page)

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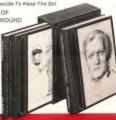
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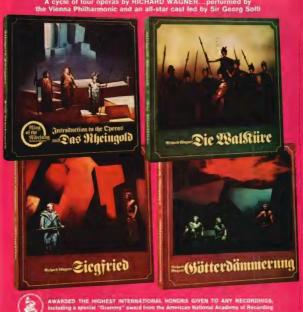
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"Now to our White House reporter for his outrageous, vicious, distorted, frantic and hysterical report."

our time." Magruder had a better plan Magruder's memo was one of nine White House papers divulged last week by Republican Senator Lowell Weicker, an anti-Administration member of the Watergate committee. His purpose, he said, was to show the depths of the White House disdain for press freedom

Magruder's contribution certainly did that (though some of the ploys, such as attempts to plant stories expressing the Administration line, are accepted public relations practice). Instead of making "shotgun" responses to news items, Magruder advocated pointing the "rifle" of Government agencies, as he put it, at newsmen's heads. He wanted the Administration to employ "the Antitrust Division [of the Justice Department) to investigate various media relating to antitrust violations." Just the possible threat of antitrust violations, Magruder added, "would be effective in changing their views." The Internal Revenue Service also struck Magnider as a useful tool for controlling press coverage: "Just a threat of IRS investigation will probably turn their approach

Raised Eyebrows. Other White House memos from 1969 to 1971 reveal the galvanic effect of critical items on the President's men. In the July 17, 1970, issue of LIFE. Chet Huntley, then about to retire from NBC, was quoted on Nixon: "The shallowness of the man overwhelms me; the fact that he is President frightens me." White House aides were apoplectic. Magruder wrote a memo recommending 18 separate "follow-ups" to the Huntley remark, including the planting of a column on news objectivity, the recruitment of a journalism-school dean to speak on press fairness as a serious problem and the production of a prime-time TV special intending to show how commentators can slant news through raised eyebrows

A memo to Magruder from Haldeman's chief assistant, Lawrence Higby, defined the Administration's interest in the Huntley case as a lever against all TV news broadcasting: "The point behind this whole thing is that we don't care about Huntley—he is going to leave anyway. What we are trying to do is to tear deep the interior to the arms."

down the institution. The favored means to that end was intimidation-Government, public or personal. In February 1970, Haldeman observed that the Administration had not sufficiently mobilized the Silent Majority "to pound the magazines and the networks." He advised Magruder: "Concentrate this on the few places that count, which would be NBC, TIME, Newsweek and LIFE, the New York Times and the Washington Post." Special Counsel Charles Colson wrote a swaggering-and probably overstated -memo to Haldeman claiming that TV network chiefs were "damned nervous and scared" during meetings he had held with them: "The harder I pressed them ICBS and NBCl the more accommodating, cordial and almost apologetic they became." Colson wanted to get the FCC to rule, once Republicans had a majority on the commission, that the televising of presidential speeches did not give opposition spokesmen a right to free TV time to reply. Though the White House tactics succeeded for a time in reducing the press' credibility, most of the specific attempts to suppress criticism failed over the long run

Lampoon's Surrender

The National Lampoon's jejune penetrations of the frontiers of bad taste have earned it a devoted following (800,-000) and hilarious profits. But a mock advertisement in Lampoon's 1973 Encyclopedia of Humor brought the magazine's madcap staffers some serious trouble. "If Ted Kennedy drove a Volkswagen, he'd be President today," said the realistic-looking ad copy under a photo of a Beetle floating hubcap-deep in water. The text explained that Volkswagen's watertight construction-a selling point in genuine VW ads-would have prevented the 1969 drowning of Mary Jo Kopechne. Volkswagen of America began receiving outraged letters from readers who thought that VW itself was responsible for the ghoulish idea ("I will be damned if I will buy another Volkswagen after seeing an ad like the attached," wrote one customer

W responded with a \$30 million damage suit against Lampoon, changing violations of trademark and copyright laws and defination. Last week Lampoon agreed to withdraw all unsoid copies of the magazine by Nov. 15 (459,000 were printed), to destroy the plate of the adaptine by Nov. 15 (489,000 were printed), to destroy the plate of the analysis soc. It seemed only fitting that the statement on the incident in the magazine's January issue. It seemed only fitting that the statement of the statement o



"Why do we need nuclear power plants?"

Some Americans are not convinced we need to build nuclear power plants. Maybe that's because they're not fully aware of the nation's energy problem.

It's true that most people haven't been caught in an energy squeeze. But last wincer, thousands of families in the U.S. couldn't get enough fuel to heat their homes adequately. Fuel shortages closed schools in scattered areas during the coldest weather. Airlines were curtailing some of their longer non-stop flights because of low fuel reserves. Some industries in some parts of the country had to shut down completely for a time.

Situation worsening

The nation's energy supply situation is not likely to improve, unless decisive action is taken immediately. Known oil reserves in the U.S. are limited: we must depend more and more on imported fuels which are expensive and can be expected to increase substantially in cost.

It's obvious we must find alternate sources of energy without delay that do not leave us dependent on expensive and uncertain foreign fuel supplies.



Nuclear power as part of the solution

Fortunately there's an alternate source of energy the electric companies can rely on for a big part of future power needs. It's nuclear fuel.

Actually, reserves of nuclear fuel—specifically uranium—are also limited. But research and development efforts are already under way on methods of generating electricity from nuclear fuels which would extend the life of known uranium reserves by hundreds of years and uncover sources of nuclear fuel other than uranium.

The means are nuclear "breeder" reactors and, much further in the future, fusion plants. "Breeder" reactors, instead of merely consuming nuclear fuels as conventional nuclear power plants do, actually create more usable nuclear fuel than they consume, thus manufacturing fuel as well as power. Fusion power plants would create energy by combining, at tremendously high temperatures, the atoms available in ordinary water. When developed, fusion would therefore provide a practically unlimited source of energy for the generation of electric power.

The need for action

There are no easy and inexpensive solutions to the energy supply problem. We in the electric companies can contribute a part of the solution by concentrating on those sources of power generation that conserve scarce fuels.

Effective use of coal, a plentiful fossil fuel, is part of the answer. Equally important is a greater use of nuclear fuel in all kinds of nuclear power plants—conventional plants now and "breeder" and hopefully fusion plants in the future.

Thirty-eight nuclear power plants are already in operation throughout the United States. But many more are needed and are now under construction or on the drawing boards.

We seek your understanding and cooperation in helping to see that these nuclear power plants are developed and built as promptly as possible wherever they are needed.

The people at your Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies For names of sponsoring companies, write to Power Companies.

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Born to Fail?

In terms of sheer size and duration. Britishin: National Child Development Study is a behaviorist's dream. For 15 years this unique program has been pervokingly measuring the growth and in England. Sociation and Walles from the third through the ninth of March 1958. Thus the National Children's Bureau, which was set up in 1963 with both private and politic finding, has been private and politic finding, has been of more than 15000 children from the rey kind of home and background.

More Problems. The exhaustic data compiled on the children have been used in numerous studies. A report published in 1963 showed that the death rate of infants bern to mothers who had complying the complex of the com

Other extrapolations from the mountains of statistics have been more purely behavioral. One study compared the situation of 458 illegitimate children who had been raised by their mothers with that of 182 illegitimate children who had been adopted and 15,563 lies of the statistic children who had been adopted and 15,563 lies of the statistic children who had been adopted and 15,563 lies of the statistic children who had placed and the statistic children with a literaturate children who had remained illegitimate whileful men who had remained and the statistic children who had remained the statistic ch

The actual number of births exceeded 17,000 but over the years some children died others em grated and a few could not be truced

with their mothers were already at a distinct disadvantage. The mothers had begun to move socially downward, and the children's behavior and schoolwork were deteriorating.

This fall the Children's Bureau came forth with its most dramatic publication yet: a chilling comparison of disadvantaged and ordinary children called "Born to Fail?"

Drawing on its wast data bank of questionnaires and information gathered from families, schools, medical chinics and government social service organizations, as well as interview and tests with the children themselves, the bareau discovered, first of all, that in its cash of the children than the children than the children that the children than the children that the children than the children

This hapless group—which contributes, on the average, two students to every British classroom—compared unfavorably with the "ordinary" children in the sampling in virtually every way —physically, intellectually and socially Some outstanding contrasts:

► At school, disadvantaged children were, on the average, 3½ years behind ordinary children in reading scores Teachers classified a quarter of the disadvantaged children as "maladjusted."

▶ Disadvantaged children were notably short for their age, and four times as many of them suffered marked hearing problems as did the other children The disadvantaged were five times as likely to be absent from school for long periods because of ill health or emotional disorders. One in 14 needed special

education, compared to one in 80 among ordinary children

• One out of eleven of the disadvantaged, but only one in 300 of the ordinary children, had had contact with the juvenile probation service. In fact, the disadvantaged use social service agencies so heavily that the report estimates that a 2% reduction in the number of disadvantaged would produce a reduction of between 11% and 14% in the number of "calls" on the agencies.

Having painted this dismal portrait of self-perpetualing misery, the report recommends strategies for alleviating it Concluding that social work is only a Concluding that social work is only a chancy, the bureau recommends strong efforts to divert public resources from 'technological progress' and into direct expenditures that will rate low incomes and improve poor housing. Thus its macro procedure of the proce

Asks the report." Are we more interested in a bigger national cake so that some children get a bigger slice eventually—or are we ready for disadvantaged children to have a bigger slice now, even if as a result our personal slice is smaller?

Do Not Go Gentle . . .

Growing old gracefully is a poetic ideal, but in real life, according to recent studies in Chicago, people are more likely to survive into a ripe old age if they are grouchy and pugnacious. Passive senior citizens seem to lack the moxie necessary to deal with all the natural shocks that aging flesh is heir to

In one study, Morton A. Lieberman a psychologist at the University of Chicago, interviewed 85 people between 63 and 91 who, at the beginning of the experiment, were on the waiting lists of three Chicago homes for the aged. All were physically and mentally well before admission to the homes. One year later, 62 of the original sample were interviewed again (23 were unavailable because of death, illness or unwillingness to continue participating in the study) Lieberman found that 44 of the subjects had survived the stress of relocation intact, while the rest had deteriorated markedly. The intact group turned out to share nine traits: high activity, aggression, narcissistic body images, authoritarian personalities, high status drive, distrust of others, disregard for others' viewpoints, a tendency to blame others and a resistance to blaming themselves. One might ask, however, whether living longer is worth the price of becoming such a person. Lieberman, who describes himself as an increasingly 'tender and passive person," questions it, but then he is still only 42







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A Freight Train to Optimism

His years are finally beginning to show. The onetime 25-mle hikkes have been cut to 15. He often drives where he once would have walked. But the startling blue eyes are as keen and alert as ever 50. too, is the intellect of William O. Douglas, 75, who last week became the longest-sitting Justice in the Supreme Court's history, surpassing the 34 years and 195 days served by Stephen J. Field

To Douglas' many critics, the milestone was a misfortune that they had tried to head off several times with impeadment (most recently in 1970). To his long roster of admirrers, it was a cause for celebration. More than 450 of them, including his colleagues on the court, gathered in Washington for a conference and dinner to honor his career

Long after the celebrating stops Douglas will continue to be remembered as one of the nation's greatest law professors take to Houmbia and Yalei and as a combative chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission under representatives once argued long and repotitively in favor of self-regulation. Douglas closed them off with an explosive "Hoo®y". I be will also be readbered as a prescient conservationist and, experience of the properties of the protain the protain the protain the protain the properties of the protain the properties of the protain t

Yet Douglas' attitudes are not the predictable batch of anti-Establishment dissents that many might suppose. In a long interview with TIME's David Beckwith, Douglas reviewed his passage from Yakima. Wash, to Washington, D.C., and offered his own report on the current state of the nation. Excerpts

This country is in far better shape now than when I was growing up. Conditions are not nearly as bad for the poor and the underprivileged. I remember in a town north of Yakima when a coal-mine union organizer came in one day They grabbed him, their bins up and proper the state of the properties of the pro

The great contribution of the Warren Court was making principles of equality and harmony a reality rather than a theory. But the court has never been comprised of stereotyped people Now there are different men on the court, all of them honest and dedicated. but dedicated to different parts of the Constitution. That sort of shifting attention has been true from the beginning of the court, and it will always be true The shift has been overemphasized anyway. Those who really study the cases will realize that lately there is no solid bloc, no phalanx, no automatic lineup of certain people against others. It shifts on every type of case. We're all independent, we all got here under our own steam, and we're not subject to political or presidential pressure. And that's the way it works

My greatest disappointment here lacky as Rodriguez, the Texas school-financing case. There it was proved that het Chicanos of San Antonio, because they were poor, roceived a very inferior school system. For as long as I've been here, religion, color and poverty have been lines that you couldn't cross and discriminate against without a grave risk to the equal-protection clause.



DOUGLAS IN HIS COURT CHAMBERS
"We're all independent."

The most alarming trend in Government is the unimpeded growth of the President's war powers. Some people have the rather naive view that the court should never enjoin a war. But that's not the issue. The question is whether an individual, having passed the physical and shown ability to shoulder a gun, should be sent overseas to fight in a war that Congress hasn't declared. I believe that any time an individual is coerced by his Government, then he has an action. If my position were sustained, the undeclared war would not be enjoined; the only people sent to fight in it would be those who want to fight

The First Amendment isn't in bad shadows yet. It's still being forcefully applied. I'm disturbed by some actions, of course, but it's far better than it used to be. I do wish the news media were more interested in doing in-depth stories on the court and justice. They're interested in









age 20; wearing gift from an eskimo (1956); with Army mule on 1949 visit to U.S. military ad-

visers helping Greek government forces to fight Communist guerrillas; with Fourth Wife Cathy 30, at their Washington, D.C., home

THE LAW

one Justice throwing an inkwell at another one, but they don't always help the court educate as it should

The court's great power is its ability to educate, to provide moral leadership Occasionally, we do quite well with it. So you can see I've grown to be much more of an optimist than I was when I got off the freight train that brought me to law school. There's a fine group of people in this country, people who badly want to do the right thing. That's the strength of the United States

A Chance to Explain

At 3:42 one August morning in 1970, Antiwar Activist Karleton Lewis Armstrong was still making good his escape when he heard the bomb he had helped plant tear out the sides of the University of Wisconsin's Army Mathematics Research Center. Four persons were wounded and a physicist was killed. Caught in Canada early last year and finally extradited, Armstrong, 27, pleaded guilty six weeks ago in Madison, Wis., to second-degree murder and arson-but not before an unusual bit of plea bargaining. Armstrong wanted, as Attorney William Kunstler put it, "a chance to bring to his compatriots what he did and why

The court agreed to a unique twoweek mitigation hearing in which Armstrong was free, in effect, to put the war on trial and to use any witness he want-



ARMSTRONG AT COURTHOUSE No way to justify it

ed. As if it were one final opportunity to explain their frustrations and rage at U.S. involvement in Viet Nam. 40 persons from all parts of the antiwar movement showed up to testify

Vietvets spoke of "toe-poppers," "daisy cutters" and "dragon's teeth"

-all antipersonnel maiming explosives that they had used in Viet Nam. Anthony Russo, who helped to make the Pentagon papers public, recalled that, as the war escalated, he once took a grenade to the computer room of the Rand Corporation. "I wanted to throw it in there," he testified. "Had I been younger. I think I would have done it.

Philip Berrigan argued that "men of

conscience had to take a higher law into their own hands." Former Alaska Senator Ernest Gruening, 86, maintained that resisters "deserve an accolade"; but he would not comment on how Armstrong should be punished because his act "turned out rather tragically." Historian Gabriel Kolko of Toronto's York University insisted: "To condemn Karl Armstrong is to condemn a whole anguished generation. His intentions were more significant than the unanticipated consequences of his actions.

No Excuse. That was, to be sure, the critical issue. Armstrong himself testified that news of the physicist's death "really destroyed me, because in my own mind I didn't think there was any way that death could be justified." He contended that he-and others still uncaptured-had carefully planned the bombing for a time when the building was least likely to be occupied

The prosecution argued forcibly that all the care in the world did not excuse the taking of a life. It further contended that the special hearing testimony, interesting though it may have been, had nothing to do with Armstrong, who was personally unknown to most of the witnesses. The judge did not comment directly on the relevance of the testimony But last week he imposed a maximum sentence of 23 years, just two less than the prosecutors had asked. "Long live the revolution," shouted the defendant. who still faces related federal charges

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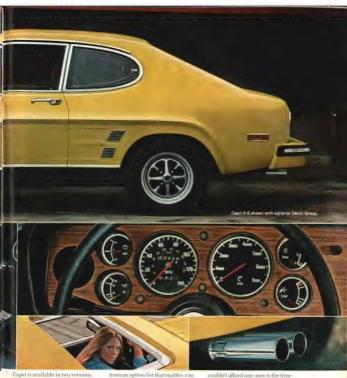


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Tired Rooster

When English Rock Superstar Rod Stewart travels in his executive jet, he takes along a retinue of 43 musicians. managers and publicists who indulge his every whim. When he arrives, he is met by a cozily appointed limousine and, invariably, an assortment of cozily appointed groupies. His singles like Maygie May and albums like Sing It Again, Rod this latest, with 700,000 sales in two months) are regular chart-busters. He derives enough additional money from concerts (a recent month-long tour of the U.S. grossed \$500,000) to qualify easily for millionaire status. When he takes time off, it is in a Georgian mansion just down the road from Queen Elizabeth's castle in Windsor

Sed Business. At the peak of his care, Stewart, 28, would seem to have everything a rock-n'-roll musician could againe to. Certainly he has everything he dreamed of ten years ago when he dreamed of ten years ago when he dreamed of ten years ago when the part-time grave-digger in the suburbs of London Yet, at the end of his U.S. cur, while relaxing by the pool of Los Angeles Beverly Wilshire Hotels hecontrol to the peak of the peak of

Stewart, the rooster of vaudeville rock, prances about the stage in pomp and plumage. His costume includes a baby blue pantsuit with flowered muffler, a yellow negligee and gold toreador pants with a white sleeveless top. In order to maintain his concert pace. Stewart has to keep himself in top physical trim; he follows a pre-performance regimen of steam bath, black coffee and port-and-brandy. At a recent show in Anaheim, Calif., he wiggled his way through Maggie May and Every Picture Tells a Story, and later, during an instrumental break, backstagers could see him gasping and wheezing behind a large loudspeaker. Stewart is an adult playing a kid's game. And the drive is gone

a Not 5 game. And the drive is gone.

Pancy can and dust are Stewards

Constitution to his image, although

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towed to be seen in public drinking anyu
because people think I'm drink;

goonstage. But my musicians and I can't

destroy the myth, so we act drunk.

One of Stewart's goals during a tour stop in Los Angeles last month was to throw a party for his fans in the Hollywood Palladium after his concert there. "Just with the kids that paid to see me. A party where for a change I don't have to put up a false from: "His New York-based pressagent, Coming New York-based pressagent, Coming New Are, nixed that." Rod, darling, "sin be said, "you're an artist, You need be with your own kind—nice big, important people; You face of you people." Rod darling turned away, half in frustrational half in anger. "You see what I must half in anger." You see what I must money and we treat them like trush. I should be making the decisions, but I m on the people of the propose are in control. After a long people are in control. After a long people are in control. After a long people are in past want a bit o' beer. The last thing I want is to go out with a cover air!

Not that Stewart has anything against girls. Groupies, plaster cataly aid against girls. Groupies, plaster cataly wild birds—he had been all. 'Our thing now is dirty pieted them all. 'Our thing now is dirty pieted will be the morning we compare picture and the plast of the morning we compare picture and the plast of the work of the compare picture and the plast of th

Promotion and personal publicity can also run a man down." It shouldn't even be talking during the day, but my managers say. I have to give the terviews." One day, Stewart tried to bego out of an addience with a feen mage zine but the interviews, says soon to the stem of the stem o

The clowning around once enjoyed by Stewart and his group, he Faces, is beginning to pall. At times Rod and the boys used to smash hotel furniture, throw TV sets through the windows and paint the walls purple. The destruction paint the walls purple. The destruction to the says: "We don't do it to word the says: "We don't do it to word the says: "We don't do it to word the says: "We don't do it so what it proved. It's an idiotic way of having a party."

In his quieter, moments. Stewart thinks about his place in pop history. "I'd like for me old name to go down in the Doomsday Book of rock, I'd love to pass through America in five years and hear my old records on the stations." He also dreams of making a movie, but not too seriously. "I'm just a rock star. I know that. The best thing for me ist oex-haust what I've got going now and then

"And then? Stewart cannot complete the sentence. In a life lived almost exclusively for "now," "then" is strange and vaguely frightening territory

Viewpoints

ROLL OUT. CBS. Friday. 8.20-9 p.m. EST. Another wartime comedy, this time about a team of black convoy drivers in World War II France. The actors are delightful, especially Stu Gilliam as the street-smart sharpie "Sweet" Williams, cherub-faced Hilly Hicks as his Good Book-quoting buddy, and Val Bisoglio as the group's irrascible Italiam.



SINGER STEWART ON TOUR
A sad business?

captain spleening his personal vendettas against I Duer. The dominant black vernacular, if slightly too contemporary to
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THE MAGICIAN. NBC. Tuesday, 9-10 p.m. E.S.T. In theory, this show must have seemed to network programmers to have a lot going for it-a handsome leading man familiar to the viewers (Bill Bixby of the old The Courtship of Eddie's Father series), who would have a whole new bag of flamboyant tricks with which to play the cops-and-robbers game. In practice, however. The Magician's sleight of hand is only a shade more unbelievable than its slight-of-wit plots. In one recent episode. Bixby rescued a kidnaped blonde nightclub singer whose will to live he had once (sob!) magically restored after she had been scarred in a fire-aided, of course, by the deductive wizardry of his "paraplegic genius" sidekick. Another episode began with Bixby in love with a sweet young thing who turned out to be masquerading under a



HICKS & GILLIAM IN ROLL OUT An old-fashioned war.

fake identity with the help of the Government because she once fingered a mobster. Actor Bixby is surely worthy of better things than a soulful love scene with lines like, "Two people ... [pause]

become as one [pause] ... forever, mumbled with mystical intensity as he symbolically fiddles with an entwined set of bracelets on her sweet young wrist Despite a whole magician's supply shop of prestidigitator's paraphernalia, The Magician conjures up nothing so much as an urge to presto chango to another channel

POLICE STORY, NBC, Tuesday, 10-11 p.m. E.S.T. Created by Author and Los Angeles Police Detective Sergeant Joseph Wambaugh (The New Centurions). Police Story has an anthology format that allows it a variety of character and subject matter denied to most law-andorder series. So far it has also enabled viewers to see a handful of acting talents who do not often grace the tube -Vic Morrow, Verna Bloom, Claude Akins. Each segment, in fact, is sort of a mini-movie-some disappointing, some top-quality television drama. The emphasis is on the human being behind the badge, and with Wambaugh as consultant the show has provided a noticeably more realistic look at police work than any other cop show on the air. In one recent episode, a cop made foolhardy-and trigger-happy-by learning that he had terminal cancer, shot a gunwielding suspect. Familiar enough, but on Police Story the cop was hauled before the "meat grinder"-a police review board-to defend his action, something that happens to a real policeman involved in a shooting but hardly ever to his TV counterpart. ("Do you have any idea," the haunted cop rages at his punishing review-board inquisitor, idea what it feels like when you've shot a man?") Police Story is not always as good as it might be, but it is way ahead of the competition. # Judy Fayard

Divorce for Catholics?

A quiet reformation that may have profound effects on Roman Catholic discipline concerning divorce and remarriage is gaining ground among U.S. Catholics. It is being led by theologians. canon lawyers and even concerned bishons. The latest arguments for change include a sharp criticism of Roman Catholic annulment procedures by the Canon Law Society of America, and a thoughtful book entitled Divorce and Remarriage for Catholics? (Doubleday) by Monsignor Stephen J. Kelleher, onetime presiding judge of the marriage tribunal of the Archdiocese of New York

The reformers do not attack Jesus' nction: "What God has joined together, let not man put asunder," which the Catholic Church has long cited in forbidding divorce and remarriage They argue that Jesus was stating a moral objective that not everyone, even with the best efforts, can always achieve. The reformers note that even St. Paul recognized that some marriages fail when he accepted the divorces of new Christians who could not get along with their pagan spouses. Now, say Kelleher and fellow critics. Rome should acknowledge other exceptions for modern-day Catholics

At present, the main avenue for Catholic "divorce" is a declaration of annulment, which concludes that a marriage never existed. Since 1970, the once grueling annulment process in U.S. Catholic marriage tribunals has been streamlined considerably. Experimental rules in effect until 1974 permit tribunals to consist of only one judge, rather than three, and most annulments need be approved by only one court instead of two

Moreover, the grounds for annulment have been extended through sophisticated judicial interpretation. One historical reason for annulment, "lack of due discretion" on the part of one of the partners at the time of marriage, is now being applied with the insights of modern psychology. Some marriages have been declared invalid because one of the partners was deemed emotionally incapable of making the required commitment. As a result, the number of an-

nulments granted in the U.S. has risen sharply, from about 650 four years ago to more than 3,000 last year

To U.S. canon lawyers, who met last nth in Washington, the improved procedures are still insufficient. Too often, they charge, justice depends on geography: some dioceses have wellinformed, full-time tribunals, other dioceses only a few overworked men unfamiliar with the intricacies of canon law. What the U.S. needs, the canonists assert, is "an entirely new system of decision making in marriage cases.

Welcome Home. In his book. Monsignor Kelleher recommends scrapping the tribunal system because it imposes a legal solution on what is essentially a complex personal affair. The better the courts work. Kelleher says, the closer they come to granting de facto divorces with permission to remarry. The process demeans both the law and the marriage partners, he argues, because it requires a declaration that the first marriage never existed, often on grounds that imply that one or both partners were somehow unstable. Kelleher does not say that the church can or should "dissolve" a troubled marriage, but rather that it should recognize that even honest and workable commitments can be exposed to such pressures that they will "die.

Kelleher's solution, which he calls the "welcome home" alternative, amplifies the "good conscience" approach to second marriages (TIME, Oct. 2, 1972). which allows some persons remarried in good faith to return to the sacraments of the church. Though the Vatican has ruled out this procedure, it operates quietly in a number of U.S. parishes

Kelleher feels that the sub rosa aspect of that approach, however, leaves too many people with uncertain consciences. He suggests that the church should simply "welcome home" those who have suffered failed first marriages to "the central act of Catholic worship. the Fucharist," and to the "protective love of a genuinely Christian community." For U.S. Catholics, whose divorce rate is nearing the national average of one out of four marriages, that kind of compassion could be welcome indeed





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The Black Tigers

Like any other football team, Tennesse States Tigres love to soor couchdowns. But they are rather ambivalent about kicking field goals and capacity and the points during home games. Reason the the stands costs the small, predominantly black college \$26.95 that it can ill affed. Near the end of a recent annihilation of Florida A. & M. (45-0). a sudent aide on the Tennessee State football staff Tooled at the mounting maintained to the control of the stands of th

Somehow Tennessee State has managed to find enough footballs the past ten seasons to become a formidable



COACH JOHN MERRITT & TIGER PLAYER
Stalking a national championship.

small-college football power. Since John Merritt and his entire coaching staff moved from Jackson State a decade ago, the Tigers have won 90 games and lost only 13. Goling into last weekend with the nation's longest winning streak (14 games), they seemed headed for a perfect season and a chance to win their first small-college national tittle.

Poor Plant. Even Grambling, longtime leader of black college football, has fallen behind Tennessee State. This year's score: the Tigers 19. Grambling 13. In ten years, the National Football League has drafted 98 Tigers. The twelve Tigers playing in the N.F.L. today outnumber alumni from the University of Tennessee and equal the total from U.C.L.A. Tennessee State has produced such current pro stars as the Atlanta Falcons' all-pro defensive end Claude Humphrey and the Kansas City Chiefs' star defensive back Jim Marsalis. Pro teams can thank Grambling for 13 players, including the likes of Buck

Buchanan (Chiefs' defensive tackle). Woody Peoples (49ers' guard) and Billy Newsome (Saints' defensive end).

Such a consistent winning record would be an achievement for any large university; for Tennessee State, it is nothing short of remarkable. Just 5,000 students (600 of them white) attend T.S.U.'s red brick campus on the banks of the Cumberland River in Nashville. The football budget is only \$268,003. compared with almost \$1.4 million for the University of Tennessee. The physical facilities would give nightmares to Bear Bryant or Woody Hayes: a stadium that seats barely 16,000, a dusty dirt practice field, unpretentious locker rooms and modest office space for a coaching staff of seven

The plant is so poor that the coaches discourage wists from prospective recruits. "We'll let 'em see our nice, pretty brochures,' Merritt explains. "We can't even afford to call prospective players long-distance every evening to tell' em nighty-night, and we don't have the affluent alumni to do the comte affluent alumni to do the contraction of the companion of the contraction of the companion of the contraction of the contraction

Ten Dovs. Yet year after year, despite the competition from bigger, richer, more glamorous schools, Merritt manages to field a fearsome team. Why? One reason is that many young black athletes, particularly from the South. feel more comfortable playing for a black coach at a black school than they would if they went north or west. Most of the Tennessee State players come from poor families, and to them, football is a way out of poverty. Merritt's record and the proven interest of professional scouts are powerful incentives. Says Raymond Bryant, a tough linebacker: "Coach Merritt kept saying he couldn't afford any cars or lots of spending money for his players, but he would guarantee me one thing: at State I would

Merritt likes his raw material big. Seventeen of this year's T.S.U. players weigh in at 235 lbs. or better. Then Merritt works off the flab. "If a player wears bigger than a 34 pants size, he has to buy 'em himself," says the coach, who covers his own generous frame with flashy shirts and colorful wide ties. Overweight players are also required to follow a ritual called "tea day," consuming nothing but tea two days a week Barking orders through a cloud of cigar smoke, Merritt teaches pro-style football -tough defense coupled with a grind-itout, ball-control offense that features short passes

The fusion of naturally talented manpower with Merritt's coaching has produced a characteristic flock of Tiger stars this year. Of Bryant (6 ft. 3 in., 236 lbs.), Merritt says: "HeI'll hit you just of the huddle." Edward

("Too-Tall") Jones, a 6-ft. 9-in., 268-lb. defensive tackle, is a likely first-round draft choice for the pros. "Jones will go hard at you every play," Merritt says. "like he's killing snakes." Wide Receiver John Holland, according to the coach, is "nuick as a hiccun."

is "quick as a hiccup."
Winning has become such a habit that the university's president. Andrew Torrence, worries the school is becoming known solely as a football factor. 'Very few people take the time to become acquainted with our other success." says Torrence. He speaks from experience. The game against Florida A. & M. had to be only success that the properties of th



WALKER AT '72 MUNICH OLYMPICS

Plodders' Plight

If the loneliness of the long-distance runner is poignant, consider the ostracism of the long-distance walker. These stiff-legged striders, who have competed in the Olympics since 1908, are facing their last stride for the gold. The International Olympic Committee recently dropped the 50-kilometer walk from future Games and scheduled one last 20kilometer walk in 1976. The awkward walkers say officials, create traffic problems as they fan out through city streets. Moreover, referees despair of ever properly policing the prescribed form (one foot must always be in contact with the ground, one knee must not bend at a certain moment of the stride) over a long course. Now the walkers are organizing a campaign to save the walk. "We realize it will be a long plod," admits John Lees of the British Race Walking Association. "But we are used to long

Two ways to get hi-fi features without paying for a hi-fi.

To a lot of people, the "hi" in hi-li means emptying your bank account just to fill your ears.

But we wouldn't hear of it. So Panasonic offers two complete record, radio and tape systems that give you a lot more than you bargain for. The Panasonic SE-4070, with its own 8-track recorder. And the SE-2150, with its own cassette recorder.

Either way, you avoid the hi-fi price, but get some very hi-fi features.

Like direct coupling. For less distortion. And more power in the bottom end. Where you really need it.

And our exclusive

And our exclusive Quadrupiex™ circuitry. Which gives a 4-channel effect to stereo tapes, records and radio. When you add two more speakers.

And each system is designed to help your precious records live longer. With an umbrella spindle to cushion the fall. Viscous-damped cueling to minimize those anguishing soratches. And anti-skating to keep the needle centered in the groove.

We didn't cut corners in the tape sections, either. They let you record your own music. And play it back. With the help of a VU meter to monitor signal strength. Fast forward to speed you to your favorite song. And an indicator to tell you when you get there.

As if all that wasn't enough, we added a pair of air-suspension speakers. Each with a 61½" wooler and 2½" tweeter. It seems the only thing we left off is a hi-fi price tag. A tamous hi-fi feature you can probably do without.



Eldorado. Life is too short to put it off for long.

Maybe for you, it was love at first sight. Eldorado can do that to people.

Or perhaps it's the way Eldorado owners talk about the car. The way it handles-with its renowned front-wheel drive, variable-ratio power steering and Automatic Level Control. The way it moves-with that exclusive Eldorado engine. The way it rides-smoother than ever in '74.

Or maybe you're looking for a luxury car that is basically different from the rest-a difference that goes beyond styling. Like the difference front-wheel drive makes in traction and stability.

Or it could just be that for you Eldorado is America's finest personal luxury car. And you're a person unaccustomed to second best.

There are many luxury cars. But there is only one Eldorado.

And there's only one way to stop wanting it. That, of course, is to start enjoying it. The classic Coupe or America's only luxury Convertible.

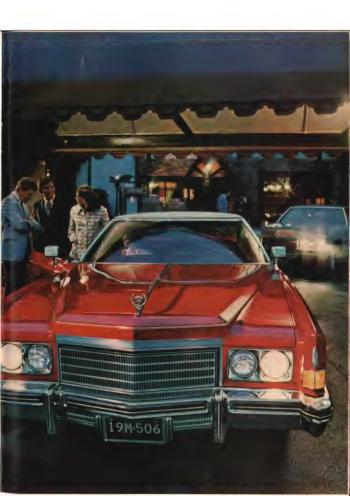
Eldorado is but one of nine superb Cadillac models for 1974. So see your authorized Cadillac dealer about owning or leasing the Cadillac of your choice.

We suggest you do it soon. Life is just too short to put it off

for long.

Smericus Number Com Luxury Car.







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We do it with a paint primer for new car bodies. It's applied electrocally in a process called electrodeposition. During assembly, the bodies are dipped in a huge vat and, in only 120 seconds, receive a complete, uniform priming—inside and out. More protection against rust than ever before.

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PPG: a Concern for the Future



OIL

The Pinch at the Pump Begins

Like a great natural disaster; the oil drought caused by the Arabi-cutback on production spread ommously through the industrial nations last week. Despite glaring signals of severe shortages shead, leading consumer countries from Germany to Japan, were in disarray. They often worked at erross purposes as each scrambled to get energy supplies only for itself—at almost any cost. Meanwhile oil-producing countries out-offer the strength of the st

On top of Venezuela's 56% boost in its posted prices and Nigeria's announcement that it will almost double its prices. Indonesia announced a 20% rise, to about \$6 a bbl. These increases are certain to send up the cost of U.S.produced oil, which under Phase IV controls is held to an average of \$4 per bbl. But "new" oil-all production of a well above last year's total-is exempt from controls, and it is now selling for \$5.60 or more per bbl. By next year it is expected by independent producers to leap as high as \$8. Indeed, Texas oilmen say that they have Government assurances that price regulations on all petroleum products will soon be loosened to give oil companies greater incentive to

produce. First Hop. American motorists felt the first pinch at the pump last week when gasoline prices rose between 1¢ and 4e per gal. By winter's end the price is expected to bound up to 50e per gal r. about 40¢ now. Home heating fuel could climb as high as 40e per gal., almost double its current level, and jet fuel, kerosene, propane and other petroleum products will rise proportionately. Officials of the Cost of Living Council estimate that increases in the price of oil imports alone will inject about \$5 billion of pure inflation into the economy, substantially raising already oppressive living costs. And, says COLC Staffer Charles Owens: "That is just the first hon of this frog

Even more worrisome is the growing probability of acute fuel shortages caused by the Arabs' total embargo of oil shipments to the U.S. It is now estimated that the U.S. will have 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 bbl. less than the 17 million bbl. a day that it normally burns. The grim prospects for the months ahead: power brownouts, chilly homes and offices, shuttered schools and factories. The loss in production could range to billions of dollars (see story next page) and bring a rise in the unemployment rate, wiping out last month's encouraging 3' drop to 4.5' At normal consumption rates, the heating-oil shortage will hit with devastating force in February, when Northeast fuel could run dangerously low

Though there is no way to duck the impact of the shortages, it can be soft-ened. Last week heating oil came under the Government's nationwide allocation plan to distribute fuel more equitably among and within the states. Propane has been subject to allocation for more than a month, though gasoline and crude oil are still evenmi.

The Administration has drawn up a sweeping, though highly tentative emergency proposal. It would give the

The situation is potentially more explosive in Europe, which gets 73% of its crude from the Arabs. The Netherlands, a target of Arab oil embargoes because of its support of Israel, is already in deep trouble. Unless the Arabs modify their stand, tanker traffic into Rotterdam, the world's largest oil port, will be slashed 70% by the end of this month The ban will also be felt throughout the Common Market and even in the US Fully 75% of the 1 billion bbl. of petroleum annually unloaded in Rotterdam is re-exported; some 20 million bbl of oil products go to the U.S. from The Netherlands

Fellow Europeans, reluctant to antagonize the sheiks, were certainly not rushing to aid the Dutch. In fact, France, which has stayed on the right side of the Arabs and is getting oil at a normal



President broad powers to put taxes on fuels, temporarily override certain environmental standards, demand that some utilities switch from oil to coal. and curtail the business hours of stores and shopping centers. The White House is also considering asking Congress for authority to set maximum temperatures in office buildings and order mandatory cutbacks in oil for such "nonessential users as theaters, restaurants and bowling alleys. In addition, the Administration is debating whether to ask for power to declare permanent daylight saving time to reduce electricity demand. These far-reaching proposals are still in the preliminary stage and it is unlikely that the Administration will ask for them all at once. In the end, the most effective deterrent to energy waste may be the soaring costs of oil and electricity

rate, would like nothing better than to woo away some of the Rotterdam tanker traffic to Le Havre

In Britain, Prime Minister Edward Heath is holding off on distributing fuel-ration books, gambling that his country's courtship of the Arabs will make such a move unnecessary. Gastoline and heating-oil prices are expected to rise in Germany, but no rationing is antispated. Anxious Austrians are hoarding so much that Trade Minister Josef Staribacher laments: "All we can do now is wait until every bathub in the country is filled with oil or gasoline."

The Arabs show no sign of relaxing the threat to slow the flow of their oil by at least 5% a month. Last week rumors floated that Saudi Arabia, which initially reduced production by 10%, was cutting output by another 5% on top of



Pure inflation fuel-injected into already puffy prices.

that. Together with the earlier reductions and total embargoes on the U.S. and The Netherlands, Middle East oil production has declined by a sizable 20% in one month.

Before the Arabs resorted to their drip, drip, drip strategy, major U.S. oil companies were doing a rich business. For the third quarter, Exxon's net profits climbed by a spectacular 80%, to \$638 million; Gulf Oil's rose \$1° & to \$210 million.

lion; and Mobil's 64%; to \$231 million. These earnings are likely to recede slightly in the future, but many oil analysts agree that rising fuel prices will continue to pump fat profits into petro-consumers. With their coffers budging, the oil giants can hardly plead poverty as an excuse for not increasing exploration for new energy sources that would be immune to Arab blackman.

Spreading Shock Waves

As oil becomes scarcer and more expensive, the economic shock waves will hit hard throughout the economy Petroleum is a basic raw material used in many products, including chemicals, paints, plastics and synthetic textiles. Other industries-steel, aluminum, electric power-use large quantities of oil in the course of production. When petroleum supplies become pinched and prices push up, these industries may well be forced to restrict output and raise their own prices, thus putting even more inflationary pressures on the economy. The new oil crisis, says James Wall, president of Celanese Chemical Co., confronts the American economy with "probably the most complex and vital development of the past 20 years.

Last week there were these chilling hints of what the future holds:

► The price of electricity showed signs of sharp rises. The Public Service Commission in New York announced that rates will probably increase 5.4% in New York City and as much as 26.1% in the suburbs by January. New York's Consolidated Edison is buying high sul-

The Nights the Lights Went Out

As darkness falls, the skyline of Portland, Ore. Lukes on an eerie cast, as if the city of 390,000 were deserted. Along the downtown streets, the familiar glow of neon signs is missing. Against the horizon, the Jostory Georgia-Pacific Building and 40-story First National Bank Tower loom like abandoned hulks, their silhouettes illuminated only by a meager handful of offlice lights and the winking red beacons that warn aircraft that the buildings stull stand.

The desolate scene, a nightly occurrence since late September, could be a dramatic forecast of the future for other cities in the U.S., Europe and Japan, The Pacific Northwest is in the grip of a serious energy crisis, ironically brought on by the same mild weather that allowed the remainder of the nation to slip relatively easily through last winter's fueloil shortage. Because snow did not build up in normal amounts in the Cascades and Canadian Rockies, this spring's runoff into the hydroelectric reservoirs along the Columbia River was the lowest in 95 years. The problem was aggravated by an arid summer. Result: a 7.4° decrease in the amount of electricity available to users in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana

To help ease the shortage, which is expected to last until May 1975. Oregon and Washington have launched strict programs to conserve electricity. In Washington, Governor Dan Evans has told state agencies to set heaters at 68° in winter (instead of the usual 721).

Secretaries are being instructed to shut off electric typewriters, dictaphones and other office machines when they are not in use. Along the major streets of Seattle, every other street light has been extinguished. In all, conservation measures have cut demand for electricity by 8% to 9%.

Even more drastic steps have been taken in Oregon, where Governor Tom McCall, along with electric utility companies, has put together a package of mandatory and voluntary curbs that could become a model for the nation By order of the Governor, state office buildings in Salem and Portland are being cleaned during the day instead of at night, with the result that heating and lighting bills have been cut by 14%. Half of the high-intensity lamps along state highways have been shut off, supposedly without making the roads more dangerous. Department stores, shopping centers and supermarkets have voluntarily cut electric usage by 10% to 20% by using lower-wattage light bulbs, reducing the temperature of the hot water in their washrooms and kitchens, and setting thermostats 4' to 6' lower There has even been a proposal that all high school football games be shifted from Friday nights to Saturday or Sunday afternoons a move that could save up to 150,000 kilowatts per contest. The plan was dropped after an electrical engineer calculated that if the spectators stayed at home, they would burn up four times that amount simply heating and lighting their houses.

The most noticeable effect of Oregon's conservation program is a total ban on outdoor-advertisement and shop-window lighting. Last week the program got tougher when the Oregon Public Utility Commission ordered electric companies to disconnect the service of any business that violates the ban Roadside billboards that once glared into the night now fade into invisibility. This holiday season Portland will not be lit up like a Christmas tree. Lloyd Center, one of the city's large shopping complexes, will forgo the 17,000 lights that usually decorate its 90-ft. Douglas fir: instead, there will be plastic ornaments and tinsel. The call to go acaroling will take on a new meaning. Civic groups are organizing caroling and iceskating parties in an attempt to keep people out of doors as long and as often as possible, thus reducing the need to heat homes

So far, Oregon's conservation drive has reduced electric-power usage by 6% But this saving has not been achieved without cost. For example, aluminum plants in Oregon and Washington have reduced their work forces by more than 1.000 employees: if electricity becomes scarcer the factories may have to shut down altogether, and almost 3,000 more employees will be out of work. Still, Oregon's winning drive to save power suggests that the U.S. can get through the next few months without undue hardship-if it is willing to put up with dreary cityscapes, cold-water handwashing. and the absence of neon signs.

THESE ARE TEST RESULTS 14 SMALL CAR MAKERS WILL PROBABLY CHOOSE TO IGNORE.

MOTOR TREND GAS ECONO	MY TEST	
1. FIAT 128 SEDAN	34.821	MPG
2. DATSUN 1200	.32.500	MPG
3.LOTUS EUROPA 5-SPEED	30.469	MPG
4. HONDA CIVIC	30.468	MPG
5. TOYOTA COROLLA 1600	. 29.846	MPG
6.MG MIDGET MK III	.29.250	MPG
7. VOLKSWAGEN SQUAREBACK.		
8. OPEL MANTA	28.125	MPG
9. DODGE COLT	28.126	MPG
10. CHEVROLET VEGA COUPE		
11. JENSEN-HEALEY	26.116	MPG
12.TRIUMPH SPITFIRE MK IV		
13. AUSTIN MARINA GT	24.788	MPG
14.RENAULT 17		
15.SUBARU 4-DOOR SEDAN	21.828	MPG

A few months ago, Motor Trend magazine conducted a gas mileage test.

They wanted to find out exactly how economical

economy cars really are.
And they did.

Of the fifteen small cars that took part in the test, the Fiat 128 four-door sedan came out first with 34.821 miles per gallon.

In fact, the 128's gasoline operating cost per mile was a miserly 1.17 cents. So close to a penny a mile that even

the people from Motor Trend were amazed.

If you're concerned about the gas crisis, you really owe it to yourself to mileage results above.

Because most small car makers will probably continue to talk about miles per gallon.



he biggest selling car in Europe

The biggest selling car in Europ



THREATENED NYLONS, COSMETICS, SYNTHETIC TEXTILES, SUNGLASSES, POLYPROPYLENE DOLLS Fewer flights, smaller cars and substitutes for a substitute.

fur oil to compensate for dwindling sup-terial. One example is the auto indusplies of low sulfur fuel

The cost of housing materials jumped, with a 20% increase in the price of plywood. The cause was a rash of scare buying amid fears that shortages of fuel and glue, an oil derivative, would lead to slowdowns in production. In Oregon, eleven mills, producing 5% of America's plywood, announced that they face complete or partial shutdowns this month

Domestic airlines, acting under a Government fuel-allocation plan that began on Thursday, eliminated hundreds of flights. The cuts will amount to about 5% of regular departures, enough to keep fuel consumption at 1972 levels, but more reductions may be made if supplies fall still lower

Scarcely any enterprise will be immune to the oil squeeze. Higher transportation and utility rates will hurt even companies and small businesses that do not rely directly on oil or petrochemicals. For high energy users like the aluminum industry, the costs of gas, electricity and oil are going up faster than any other production expenses. Prices of nitrogen and phosphate fertilizer. which use natural gas as a raw material, jumped by 30% after price controls were lifted. Textile producers also face limited production because 65% of their fibers are synthetics derived from oil. Shortages may also arise in such disparate items as lipstick, nylon stockings. phonograph records, toys, garbage bags. hair curlers and innumerable other products that use petrochemicals

Cool Comfort. Plastics will be under particular pressure. Foster Grant, a manufacturer of sunglasses and plastic resins for industry, is already faced with shortages of petrochemicals. As Martin Fox of Revion Inc. notes: "There is a world shortage of plastic resins. The feeling in the plastics trade is that things are getting worse." Ironically, customers may have to search for a substitute for plastic, which is itself a substitute matry, which since 1960 has increased the amount of plastics in the average car from 20 lbs. to 138 lbs. Auto manufacturers have lately drawn up contingency plans for going back to using metal body parts if plastic cannot be obtained.

The nation can take cool comfort in the fact that the energy crisis will have some benefits. Fuel-producing areas, notably in the West and Southwest, will be greatly enriched by the big increases in exploration and development. The airlines, many of which have been flying less than half full, will now operate with greater efficiency, and should collect higher profits as a result of fewer takeoffs and landings. The fuel shortage is also likely to accelerate the shift toward smaller cars, which get better mileage. Some industries may even acquire new importance because of the situation. As Americans prepare to bundle up against the winter cold, they are buying 25% to 30% more long winter un-



A quick fadeout for the Man Who Loved Cost Cutting.

EXECUTIVES

The Lion and the Cobra

Ever since Kirk Kerkorian bought control of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc., four years ago, the airline pilot-turned-Las Vegas financier has been ordering the liquidation of assets to help make ends meet. Last week Kerkorian lost what the moneymen would call a highly visible asset: James T. Aubrey Jr., MGM's \$208.000-a-year president. Aubrey, 54, will be replaced as president by Frank E. Rosenfelt, 51, a longtime MGM executive, and as chief executive by Kerkorian himself, 55 Handsome as an aging matinee idol.

Aubrey was hired by Kerkorian in 1969 after four lean years as an independent Hollywood producer and five fat ones as president of the CBS television network. He lost the latter job reportedly as a result of a swinging personal life and a chilling heartlessness that earned him the nickname "the smiling cobra-

Financial Oscar, Under Aubrey, MGM churned out profitable, mediumbudget schlock like Skyjacked and Black Belly of the Tarantula; directors often charged him with philistine meddling, and he alienated many of them Meanwhile as Kerkorian's agent of austerity. Aubrey slashed employment from 6,200 to 1,200 and recently began shifting film production from the silver screen to network television series. Aubrey also sold off MGM properties including its record division, studio real estate, theaters-even Ben-Hur's charjot at a much-publicized prop auction In September he announced that MGM would withdraw from the film distribution business, cut its feature-film production from 18 a year to six or fewer. and concentrate on such "leisure-time" ventures as the Grand Hotel, the firm's Las Vegas gambling palace, which is still unfinished and well over budget at \$107 million

As a financial auteur. Aubrey may



JAMES AUBREY



Used all-aluminum cans have considerable scrap value. Unfortunately, many communities are just throwing them away, and that's what Alcoa thinks ought to be stopped.

There's not another beverage packaging material quite like aluminum. Only aluminum has all these things going for it: it's lightweight, chills quickly, keeps things fresh, opens with a snap, has high scrap value and can be recycled repeatedly. It's plentiful, too When you recycle aluminum, you save energy. It takes only 5 percent as much energy to recycle aluminum as it takes to make it the first time. Recycling aluminum, then, is very practical. And possible.

In 1970. Alcoa started a "Yes We Can"

campaign to reclaim all-aluminum cans in the San Diego and Dallas-Fort Worth areas.

Since then, over 200 million cans have

Since then, over 200 million cans have been reclaimed for recycling in those cities alone. Alcoa is buying back used aluminum cans that have been collected through reclamation centers in many communities. We are buying them back because aluminum is a very practical metal to recycle.

We would like to tell you how one community established its collection center. We'll also send you information about energy and aluminum. Write for our brochure. Aluminum Company of America, 81-81- Alcoa Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15219.

Introducing patterned Supp-hose Socks.



Because feet cannot live on solid colors alone.

Supp-hose Socks, with the two-way rib to help ease aches and throbs, have always done great things for your legs.

But now they also do something terrific for your eyes. Introducing patterned Supp-hose Socks. The best-looking over-the-calf socks your eyes have ever seen.

Supp-hose Socks

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

have deserved an Oscar. When he arrived, MGM was losing \$35 million for the year, was \$80 million in debt and faced a \$70 million write-off from movie disasters. By fiscal 1973 the debt had been cut to \$30 million and the firm earned \$8.1 million in the first nine months of the year. Why, then, did Aubrey leave? For one thing, profits this year are running one-third behind last year's pace, and Kerkorian was growing impatient. Chief reasons for the falloff MGM's recent movies (The Man Who Loved Cat Dancing, Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid) have suffered box office anemia, and Grand Hotel cost overruns have been a continuing hemorrhage Some Hollywood watchers report that. ironically. Kerkorian wanted to keep on cutting costs, but, in a major disagreement. Hatchet Man Aubrey saw that his empire was disappearing and thought that the chopping should stop. As Aubrey said last week: "The job I agreed to undertake has been accomplished

The whole movie industry has changed dramatically since Aubrey joined it eight years ago. Several of the six remaining major Hollywood companies have become mere subsidiaries of profit-directed conglomerates like Gulf & Western Industries (Paramount) and Transamerica Corp. (United Artists) High-cost extravaganzas have become as rare as singing cowboys and have been replaced by Aubrey's genre: lowbudget, high-profit black films (Cleopatra Jones) and Kung Fu films (Fists of Fury). What future role Jim Aubrey may play in the new Hollywood that he helped shape is a question that will have to wait for his announcement of what he will do for an encore

PHOTOGRAPHY

Quickie Motion Pictures

Beginning soon, a wedding photographer carrying a \$189 movie camera loaded with super 8-mm. film will be able to take sound motion pictures of the bride's arrival at church and have the movie ready to show at the reception. Films of football games will be deliver a motion-picture critique at half dime. Amateur cinematographers may even be able to drop off film at a drugstore, take a fast coffee break, and then pick up the finished footage.

In the race to introduce the first instant movie film, Eastman Kodak Co last week took a quick step ahend of its risa, Polariod (Corp. Kodak showed off its new Supermatic 8 processor, in which off to film of the distribution of the standard of the standard standard to the 2010 off off movie film can be developed in less than 13½ min. by an unskilled operator v the 2010 off off in: required by highly paid technicians using conventional equipment. The compact machine is roughly the size and shape of an office model to be supposed to the supposed to be supposed to the sup

The operator feeds a short section



We once asked some of our flight guests what they liked most about flying with us.

comforts or delicacies above.

way our hostesses in kimono smile. that worships the mammoth, the small has a way of making up in gleam what

At IAL, we glory in the small

ancestors of generations beyond number.

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Taylor Wine presents The Answer Grape.

With answers to questions about dinner wines.

Q. What is the proper temperature for serving wine?

A. White and pink wines should be chilled to a temperature of 40-45 degrees...about the temperature in your refrigerator.

Red wines, on the other hand, are traditionally served at room temperature – but a cool "room temperature"...say, 60-65 degrees.

So if you heat your home to around 70 degrees, as many people do, try chilling red wine briefly before you serve it. You'll be pleasantly surprised at the difference a few degrees can make.

Q. What wines go best with what foods? A. A helpful rule of thumb

says that you drink red wines with red meat, white wines with fish, and pink with either.

My personal rule, however, is this: Enjoy any wines with any food, as long as you find them pleasant together. Simply suit your own taste, and you'll never go wrong.

In line with this, I recommend Taylor Lake Country Wines—Red, White and Pink. They're delightful any time you're in the mood for a glass of wine.

And they are consistently superb - bottle to bottle, year to year.

You might say these wines are wines any grape would be proud to be a part of.

Q. In picking a wine, what's the best year to look for?

A. The real answer is that there is no single best year. It all depends on the particular wine and where it comes from.

But let me say this: With Taylor Lake Country Wines, as with all Taylor wines, every year is a good year.

That's because, every year, the Taylor vintners

carefully blend the juices of grapes from several different years, in order to insure consistency of flavor from year to year.

That's why, bottle after bottle, year after year, the taste of Lake Country Wines is always the same—excellent.

Q. With so many different wines in the store, how can you be sure of knowing the right one?

A. It's true that in the average liquor store you'll find over 350 different kinds of wine. Unquestionably an intimidating assortment.

But the fact is that there are only three basic kinds of wine red, white and pink.

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ECONOMY & BUSINESS

of film from a specially designed cartridge into a slot. Then the machine takes over, developing the film and even winding in total calke-up rel. ready for projection. Because the device can be opcrated by a low-paid inexperienced worker, it will prove cheaper than comdeed, the machine could be the precursor of the long-sought device to process colorstides quickly.

The fast developer will go on the market in mid-1974. It will probably turn up first in television news departments, some of which are switching to super 8 from more expensive 16-mm (fin. and pose a threat to suppliers of videotape equipment: tape is much cost-lieran dharder coedit than film. Though annateur movie buffs will benefit from the fast processor, they should pause before trashing to place an order. The price is \$12.500.



POST-COUP FOOD SHOPPING IN SANTIAGO More to buy, but who has money?

CHILE

Righting a Leftist Mess

Chile's military junta, which quickly overthrew in late Marxis President Salvador Allende in a bloody September coup, is struggling now with an infinite-toup, is struggling now with an infinite-ty tougher task: righting an economy that three years of maladroit socialistic experiments left in a shambles. When the generals grabbed power, inflation was roaring out of control; farm, factory and mine production were scraping bottom; Chile's banking and financial system had all but collapsed.

By last week the generals were swinging the economy toward a rigidly conservative course. To carry out its program, the junta has appointed three right-leaning foes of Allende: Raul Saez, who was made special adviser for overall economic planning. Fernando Leniz. A Sealy Posturepedic morning. Your back will be glad you didn't buy an ordinary firm mattress.

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Who became Economics Minister: and

Orlando Saenz, adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Saez, 60, is an engineer turned economic consultant who has a reputation for hard work and cold-blooded toughness. Leniz, 46, a felline figure who was publisher of El Mercurio, a conservative Santiago newspaper, is a shreme division enesman. Saenz, 38, who resembles thenry Kissinger, is a former director of Henry Kissinger, is a former director of "Chile," he says, "will have to sacrifice to save itself."

Though Saenz has given the highest priority to reopening Chile to foreign investors-he held at least 120 meetings with businessmen during recent visits to the U.S. and Canada-he stresses that the government will maintain tight control of its industry. Copper is, of course, Chile's chief source of foreign income. Under Allende's highly political management of the mines, which he seized from such U.S. firms as Kennecott and Anaconda, disastrous strikes badly hurt production. The government will continue to own the mines, but it is willing to negotiate at least partial restitution to the U.S. firms and invite them to return to help operate the mines or develop new ones, perhaps as minority owners. Says Saenz: "We will do anything necessary to have first-class advice on copper. The junta also aims to attract new industry, for example electronics producers.

Painful Eating. Chileans are already feeling the pinch of other new economic policies. The Allende regime had forced industry to hire unneeded workers; many of them have been fired, adding to Chile's high jobless rate. To blunt the inflationary impact of the artificially swollen money supply-Allende had simply printed more and more currency -the new government devalued the escudo by 58%. That action severely chopped into the buying power of all but the wealthiest consumers. In addition, the junta has largely scrapped Allende's heavyhanded controls on prices, which were kept so low in relation to costs that farmers and businessmen let production plummet for lack of a profit incentive.

Now production is again growing, but retail prices are soaring. In one month, the prices of poultry and bread have rocketed about 175%, beef more than 200%; most wages and salaries have been allowed to rise "only" 100%. Indeed, food purchases are estimated to eat up a painful 80% of the incomes of poorer Chileans.

In arguing the need for price deconrio, devaluation and other changes. Sieza: asserts: "You need to create some enablistic relationship between prices and enablistic relationship between prices and stand this." The generals are under noilusions that they can bring a quick solution to Chile's massive woes. Says Leniz: "We will have inflation this year of about 60% or 70%, but next year in about 60% or 70%, but next year in people many hopes."



Edward Connell is an automey and law professor. He lives in Clarkedale, Mississippi, and flies his own plane. His practice is primarily in the area of tax law and estate planning. He is a 1961 graduate of the University of Mississippi Law School. Mr. Connell is married and has one son, Ted.

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MILESTONES

Married. Gaston Defferre, 63. mayor of Marseille and Socialist leader who ran for President against Charles de Gaulle in 1964-65: and Edmonde Charles-Roux, 51. novelist and former editor in chief of the French edition of Vogue (1954-66): he for the third time. she for the first; in Avignon, France

Died. Robert McLaughlin. 65. playwright, short-story writer, novelist (The Walls of Heaven, The Notion of Sin). former McCall 's managing editor (1938-43) and a deft, wryly humorous TIME writer for more than two decades (1948-69) of cirrhosis of the liver: in Miami

Died, Catherine Drinker Rowen, 16, stately, spirited patrician who found a large audience as the author of well-researched, fictionalized biographies of Oliver Wendell Holmes (Lanke From Olympus), Sir Edward Coke (The Lion and the Throne) and John Adams Lohn Adams and the American Revolution), of cancer: in Haverford, Pa.

Died. Earle ("Greasy") Neale, 81, who gave up a career in major league baseball to become one of football's leading innovators and most popular coaches; in Lake Worth, Fla. Neale spent eight seasons as an outfielder for the Cincinnati Reds, starred in the 1919 World Series, and played pro football during the off-seasons under an assumed name. In his first job as head coach, he led Pennsylvania's little-known Washington and Jefferson College into the 1922 Rose Bowl, where the heavily favored University of California barely managed to hold the Easterners to a scoreless tie. Widely credited with developing the man-to-man defense, the triple and fake reverse, Neale went on to handle the Yale backfield under Head Coach "Ducky" Pond until 1941, when he took charge of the hapless Philadelphia Eagles. Neale rebuilt the team from football's perennial doormats into twotime National Football League champions (1948-49) and in 1967 was elected to football's Hall of Fame

Died. Dr. Paul Dudley White, 87, pioneer heart specialist and President Eisenhower's chief cardiologist after Ike's 1955 heart attack (see MEDICINE)

Died. Mohammed Manghei Sale.

29. Gromer Premier of Iran in Telestan.

Once the Iranian Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Said became Premier III.

1944 and proved himself a tough-ming the danti-Communist by rejecting the U.S.S.R.'s first demands for Iranian oil concessions. Though his policy sparked public rotting, disrupted Iranian-Soviet grantian and the Community of the Community of the Iranian Parliament in 1948 and served another two voxes as Premier served another two voxes as Premier and Parliament in 1948 and served another two voxes as Premier deserved another two voxes as Premier deserv

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Dr. Cardiology

Paul Dudley White's start as a practicing physician 60 years ago civiling physician 60 years ago civiling so the hestiant, unheralded beginnings of a new medical specialty cardiology. Dr. White nutrured and grew with it for almost half a century his name was synonymous with the study, treatment and prevention of heart disease. Last week, as the American Heart Asociation was preparing to add to White's endless string of swards, death with the study of the string of swards, death of the string of swards, death of the swards of the string of swards, death of the swards of

James B. Herrick award, named for the Chicago physician (1861-1954) who in 1912 first accurately described a coronary-artery shutdown in a living patient and in effect added the term coronary thrombosis to the language. Previously doctors had assumed that no one could survive a heart attack. They had viewed the post-mortem finding of a coronary thrombosis merely as an interesting item of pathology, and no particular significance was attached to Herrick's report. which he admitted "fell like a dud." But it was eventually to have great impact on Paul White (M.D., Harvard, 1911). who was then switching from pediatrics to heart disease because a sister had died from the aftereffects of rheumatic fever After White's internship. Harvard financed a trip to London, where he bought a newfangled invention, the electrocardiograph. White took the instrument back to Massachusetts General Hospital, where he set it up in a closet in the basement of a Bulfinch building There he began taking and studying the ECGs of Americans, men, women and children, eventually compiling records of tens of thousands of patients

Survival Regimen. Although tuberculosis and pneumonia had long been the leading causes of death in the U.S.. heart disease was fast overtaking them White suggested that a special cardiology service be set up. As he later recalled: "My former teachers and the hospital chiefs warned me that I was entering an insignificant, special field and would never be heard from again." Undaunted. White expanded his service and research. From detailed studies of patients, he learned that a man could survive a heart attack not only for weeks or months but for a quarter-century-i he followed the White regimen of weight control using a prudent diet, no smoking and programmed exercise

In 1924 White helped to found the American Heart Association and thereafter became Dr. Cardiology to half a dozen federal health services—and eventually to a large segment of the American public. When President Eisenhower had his first heart attack in 1955, his personal physicians turned hat-

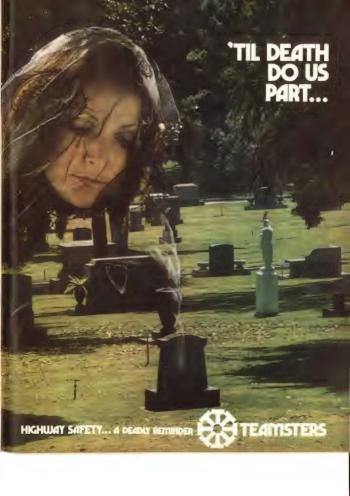


WHITE & FRIEND EXERCISING
Good for heart and brain.

urally to White as a consultant Describing the President's recovery to the press. he spoke freely of the patient's bowel movements. To many, this was shocking, but White, a sage and proper Yankee, was speaking with a purpose he was getting across to a mass audience the value of normal body functions as a sign of a cardine patient's recovery alatim and publishly oseking, but the conder was his way of promoting the cause of preventive cardiology.

Always thin as a bean pole. White inveighed relentlessly against sloth of mind or body. He advocated walking and, better yet, bicycling as a means of stimulating circulation to the brain as well as the heart. Well into his 80s. he practiced what he preached. Not until he was 84 did he suffer a minor heart attack. He recovered and went back to work and even kept on bicycling. Late last May he had a stroke and was hospitalized in Massachusetts General. There he was told that one of his patients had arrived from Florida expecting treatment, unaware that White was ill. Dr. White got out of bed and held the desired consultation in his bathrobe

The hospital's neurological service had recently acquired a supersophisticated X-ray brain scanner. A researcher to the last, White was glad to have it used on him to locate a blood clot, which was surgically removed. But a second stroke last month proved more than he could withstand. White once said: "It supersons that the superson with the superson w





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Reaching the Ghetto

Like many big-city hospitals. Chicago's St. Frances X. Cabrini Hospital has been declining with the neighborhood. As white middle-class families left their sturdy brick houses for the suburts, poor black and Spanish-spaking families moved into the residential sections surrounding the hospital. Doctors began to shun the area, garity because to show the subtions were on welfare. By 1970, Cabrin's hospital beds were only 688° full and the hospital was \$1,000,000 in edits.

Anxious to replace the doctors who had traditionally served adjacent neighborhoods and referred patients to Cabrin. the hospital board last year ried a unique approach. It bought an abart, refurbabled it and added examination and waiting rooms. At the same time the board launched a search for two doctors willing to saff the theater-tumed-clinic. while the control of the control of the salaries of \$3,000 per month for each doctor in return for referrals to Cabrini.

Two Filipino internists accepted the offer last May. Word of the program spread through the neighborhood, and the doctors now average about 30 patients a day, with ailments that range from a child's simple cough to stomach cancer. Since the clinic opened, it has referred 196 outlets to Cabrini, raising



DR. ANTONIO BAUTISTA EXAMINES YOUNG PATIENT IN CHICAGO GHETTO CLINIC
Anxious to replace the doctors who traditionally served adjacent neighborhoods.

the hospital's "bed census" by about 5%.
"The idea is working," says Hospital
Board Chairman Sister Irma Lunghi,
"We're not saying that this is going to
save the hospital, or the community either, but it is a start."

It has also proved a good start for the two clinic doctors. "I didn't think I'd ever be able to have a practice because I didn't have the money to put it together," says 30-year-old Henry Carag. Though they charge less than most doctors for their services (58 for the first visit, 56 thereafter), the two men are beginning to pay their own way. When the

clinic opened in May, the hospital was paying each of them a full \$3,000-a month subsidy to fulfill the guarantee, it is now down to \$2,100, and the hospital contained that the contained that contained that the contained that contained that the contained that the contained that the contained that working long past the closing hours posttivated by more than their paychecks in working long past the closing hours post do utside the clinic. Says Dr. Antonio Bautista, the second member of the team. "We see people with all kinds of continue on like this as long as our strength holds out."

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An Eloquent Memorial

THE ICEMAN COMETH
Directed by JOHN FRANKENHEIMER

This is the first in a series of eight presentations of the American Film Theater (TIME, Oct. 1), an intricately organized system of production and distribution designed to give stage drama new permanence on movie screens. Current plans are to schedule each of the films for a brei run on different dates films for a brei run on different dates that, the American Film Theater insists, the will be taken out of circulation, nev-

er to be released again.

Success has a way of changing plans like that, and The Iceman Cometh is a success indeed. It is not merely a worthy production of a great play; it also possesses moments—most notably in the prospesses moments—most notably in the proformance of Robert Ryan—of its of or such extraordinary beauty and power that the A.F.T. would be doing both itself and the public a disservice if it itself and the public a disservice if it

quickly retired the film to a vault.

Like Arthur Penn and George Roy
Hill, John Frankenheimer began his career as a television director. Though he
has made some good movies since (such
as The Manchurian Candidate), his stag-

ing of *Iceman* has the intensity and immediacy that characterized the best early TV drama. He also catches, rather better than Sidney Lumet did in his 1960 TV production for *Play of the Week*, the play's roiling richness, the tidal flow from realistic melodrama into

For such a long and daunting project. Iceman was made quickly: three weeks of rehearsal, eight weeks of shooting. Occasionally the rush shows, in a composition that is a little too static or in a microphone shadow against a wall. Overall, though, Frankenheimer's production is careful and vigorous. Harry Hope's bar looks dingy but never hokey The photography keeps the backgrounds in as sharp perspective as possible, letting each viewer select his own point of focus. In that respect, this Iceman resembles the style of Orson Welles' banquet scene in Citizen Kane, in which each face was vivid at a long table. The technique creates a pervasive sense of being enclosed that, paradoxically, nev-

er makes the eye feel cramped. The storm center of the play is Hickey, the drummer, the shill for salvation through recognition of self-delusion. He annihilates the pipedreams in which the patrons of Harry Hope's back room curl up like quaking children in the middle



ROBERT RYAN IN "ICEMAN" Lacerating honesty.

of a nightmare. Everyone in Harry Hope's place needs booze to nourish his foram, but it is the dream itself, not alcohol, that keeps them alive. Hickey, underneath his salesman's brass and chatter, needs rage, contempt and anguish to galvanize the entire play.

Lee Marvin's Hickey has the hype and the patter but only a portion of the necessary bravura. He seems to be wrestling with the vivid memory of Jason Robards in the same role, a performance



of such passion that it became definitive. It may be unfair for an actor to carry such a burden, but Marvin does not carry it well. His Hickey is tentative, almost halting.

This does not so much throw the production out of balance as readjust the emphasis. Hickey does not stand apart, he becomes just another victim. The weight of the play falls on Robert Ryan. whose portrayal of Larry Slade is magnificent. Slade, the rummy poet anarchist, the man who likes to pretend he watches life with cynical dispassion from the grandstand, who claims to invite and welcome death, is a role full of traps. It is hard to separate Slade's sodden grandiloquence ("Go, for the love of Christ, you mad tortured bastard, for your own sake!") from Eugene O'Neill's own penchant for overstuffing his dialogue. Ryan does it by animating and underscoring every line, each inflection with a vast, crumbling dignity, a lacerating honesty

The rest of the movie is meticulously cast: Fordic March is a splendid Harry. Hope, Jeff Bridges a fine, driven Partit. Bradford Dillman, Moses Gunn, Evans Evans. Tom Pedi and John McLiam are all excellent. Yet the movie belongs most securely to Robert Ryan, and it is an eloquent memorial to his talent. Ryan, who died of cancer in July, was aling while he was making Jeman. In the circumstances, it would be easy to sentimentalize his performance. But

such a gesture would diminish its greatness. With the kind of power and intensity that is seldom risked, much less realized, it has its own pride and stature.

Mid-Life Crisis

SUMMER WISHES, WINTER DREAMS Directed by GILBERT CATES Screenplay by STEWART STERN

The title has the sound of fake poetry, but the movie beneath it has the solid ring of truth. The good wishes of summer may be summarized as a desire to feel, and express more intensely, love in its several varieties. The bad dreams of winter are the products of life's thoughtless intrusions on Rita Wal-

den Hoanne Woodward).

Rita's opthatmologist husband
(Martin Balsam) is stolid and bumbling,
and she can rarely bear even his lightest touches. A son has drifted into homosexuality, a daugher tolerates Rita impatiently. Rita's relationship with her
mother (etched in dry point with just
the slightest drop of acid by Sylvia Sidencyl has become a series of long, grumbly quarrels. Rita, in short, cannot connect properly or rewardingly with

anyone she cares about.

It is a banal problem perhaps. But it is also the stuff out of which millions of people create that awkwardly named but painful thing known as the mid-life



BALSAM & WOODWARD IN "DREAMS"
Solid ring of truth.

crisis. For Riia it crests and breaks when her mother dies suddenly. Unmelodramatically but touchingly. Rita starts to come apart. This is not a subject that crops up much in movies aimed at today's youth-dominated market. Indeed, the central virtue of Summer Wishes may be that it is willing to dramatize such a human issue. But its carefully observed and delicately felt manner of

doing so is also worthy of note.

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Washington State College and Sa Jose State College in 1935 that wa attended by only one paying custome in near zero temperature.



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CINEMA

Rachel for Miss Woodward, he displayed agift for bining dialogue and for transforming ordinary situations into sequences that carry a sharp sting of recognition. The same ability is repeated to the mourners try to hide their dialogue of the mourners try to hide their dialogue. We will have Sang for My Father, an underrated fiim that was also about family tensions. He shows himself once again to see the state of the state of the state of the end of the state of the state of the state of the end of the state of the state of the state of the end of the state of the state of the state of the end of the state of the

As for Miss Woodward, there is no more authentic, believably feminis spirit on the screen today. In Summer Withesensh is brittle, cold, hysterical, but above all a woman who knows that she is lost and is in desperate search of herself. It is a lovely performance, almost lost and the most proposed by the search of herself. It is a lovely performance, almost lost and the host proposed by the search of herself. It is a lovely performance, almost lost of the host proposed by the search of the search of the host proposed by the search of the searc

The film concludes satisfyingly but not resoundingly, its people merely having lived a little more and learned a little more and learned a little more and learned a little more and so accept themselves and those who are close to themselves and those who are close to says at one point. "I do still miss all the things I hard." I do still miss all the things I hard." May be so. But at the end one feels that, given a second chance, alter might manage with more chance, alter might manage with more Meanwhile, her example is worth pondering—mal section. **Pichard Scheksle

Bird Droppings

JONATHAN LIVINGSTON SEAGULE Directed by HALL BARTLETT Screenplay by RICHARD BACH and HALL BARTLETT

If one must spend the better part of two hours following the adventures of a bird, far better that the hero be Daffy Duck than Jonathan Livingston Seagull. Jonathan, for the information of any

recluses who might not have heard or misantiropes who just don't care, is an adventurous seaguil who wants to "fly where no seaguil have mants to "fly where no seaguil have afform before," to the "know what there is to know of this life." This angers his flock. An outraged Elf-derannounces, "You are henceforth and forever outcast!", and Jonathan takes it on the wing.

He seems to fly into a series of pieture posterands of Yosemite. Go Beath Valley, of the frozen North. Eventually, sestling down in the snow, he expires, his tail feathers quaking as he gives up the gloot. The ghost, however, will not be given up so easily and files off to some spiritual never-never land. There, it—or hird called Chou in higher wisdom by a hird called Chou in high pieces and the consolutions take the consolutions take the contraction of the contr



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Not that he actually talks, of course. Jonathan and the rest of his feathered friends are real birds-not mechanical. not animated-but their voices and interior monologues are rendered by actors. James Franciscus speaks for Jonathan, Juliet Mills for his love interest. Hal Holbrook for the Elder, Richard Crenna and Dorothy McGuire for Jonathan's parents. None of these actors has chosen to be included in the film's credits, a privilege only the least charitable would question.

Jonathan Livingston Seagull is the warmest, most goodhearted, most tune-



AUTHOR BACH & BUDDY No more garbage.

ful (score by Neil Diamond) piece of moral uplift since the musical version of Lost Horizon. Years hence, scholars may debate the significance of the fact that the wise elder in Shangri-La and the wise bird here are both called Chiang. Surely it is no mere coincidence. A homage, perhaps. Or maybe a moment of mystic communion, a stroke of magic enlightenment of the sort that Jonathan is always shoving his beak into

Richard Bach, who wrote the original book, is much agitated over this film version, which has allegedly altered many of the "ideas" in the book and his original screenplay. The book has about as many ideas as The Little Engine That Could; in fact, buried under all the vomitous theosophy, it has the same idea. Ideology aside, the movie's casting could open up a whole new style of film making. Think of it: Pigeons on Mean Streets, about a bunch of tough young New York birds. Or what about a remake of Four Feathers?



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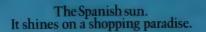
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Dear Liar

THEOPHILUS NORTH

374 pages. Harper & Row. \$7.95.

Playwright Thornton Wilder is the good old white magician who once had us all handing chairs down theater aisles to feed a stage fire and save the suburb of Excelsior, N.J., from the ice age. He successfully launched Noah's ark from the Million Dollar Pier in Atlantic City-despite the fact that Mrs Noah wouldn't let it shove off without Cain as well as Abel. Novelist Thornton Wilder has re-created 18th century Peru (The Bridge of San Luis Rey), and ancient Rome (The Cabala). In Our Town, he made Grover's Corners. N.H., into some sort of Eternal City of the heart. After all that, it is not much of a hop to Newport, R.I., in the sunny summer of 1926

That is where Wilder turns up this time, in the guise of his title character.



THORNTON WILDER Prospero in 1926.

29-year-old Theophilus North Like Wider, the young North (who remembers his stories in extreme old age) is an escapee from a boyhood variously spent in China, California and Wisconna. a classics scholar a master of many languages, an ex-prep schooleacher and dier in other people's business, more or easien the sprint (much diminished) of the control of the control

Theophilus, however, has a sense of humor. He is the first to admit that his only weapons are charm, some mild Freudian therapy, a gift for mendacity and the kind of benign chicanery that in old-fashioned stories used to help gentle, truthful and kindly people at the expense of the rapacious, the pretentious

and the proud. Indeed, most of the crises North confronts are genteel and domestic: incipient misalliances (to be blocked), henpecked husbands (to be liberated) and the ill effects of ghastly rumors (to be laid to rest).

non-to-case to the pat off by these proceedings or troubled by their gim-mickry and lack of realism. In The Eighth Day, the prizewinning novel that Wilder published in 1967, he has a character say: "It is the duty of old men to lie to the young. Let these encounter their own distillations. We strengthen their own distillations we strengthen the conductive their control to the process of the pr

In recent years Wilder, who is 76, as been in and out of hospitals, sadly aining. Young Theophilus North, similarly, remembers that when he came to Newport after quitting a deady conting 100, it was like release from a conting 100 per section of the conting to one raises his head. "At the start has a continuous continu

Newport is an island. Theophilus
North is Wilder's Tempest, a mock
world, a playful world, made safe and
orderly by kindly meddling. It would
take a Caliban or a young curmudgeon
to complain that it is a tempest in a
teapot.

*Timothy Foote

Pêche Melba

PORTRAIT OF A MARRIAGE:

V. SACKVILLE-WEST AND HAROLD NICOLSON
by NIGEL NICOLSON
249 pages. Atheneum. \$10.

She was Viia Sackville-West, the darfly handsome child of a great Kentsh family, a minor poet and novelise that the control of the control

One day in 1962, soon after his mother's death, their son Nigel Nicolson, by then a London publisher and M.P., unlocked a Gladstone bag hidden in Vita's tower writing room. In it he found her 1920-21 memoir of an intense three-year affair with Violet Keppel, an iconoclastic redheaded girl whose mother had been the mistress of King Ed.



HAROLD & VITA IN 1932 Found in a Gladstone bag.

ward VII. The occasionally purple memoir, written when Vita was 28. makes up about a third of this book. Along with it Nigel Nicolson offers biographical annotations and an elaborate tribute to his parents' "perfect marriage."

Gladstone bag and all, the book has become a delicious and gossipy literary event in England. But what should be said is that the memoir has an honesty and self-awareness quite unmatched by Vita's other writings. It is more touching, moreover, in its swift portrait of Vita's childhood world than in its moments of passion: "Mother did not cry: she always tries not to cry because it gives her headaches." Vita remembers herself as a cruel, lonely tomboy roaming around Knole, one of the last great private estates in England. Her only affectionate companionship came from her grandfather, Lord Sackville, a shy, wood-whittling man who "loved children and believed in faeries." Knole was financed through what Nigel calls the corner on millionaires and elderly artists" held by Vita's formidable mother Vita retreated from family lawsuits into daydreams of feudal ceremony and tempestuousness

The affair with Violet, which began after five happy years of marriage, arose through "an absurd circumstance," world War I had given Vita a chance to run around in breeches. Harold was away, Violet appeared in red velvet. "I hadn't dreamt of such an art of love." Vita recollects. Soon the two women were running off to France together—over and over. In the circumstance, Harold carried British sang-fioid and tolerance to laughable extrems. From



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Son Nigel, who, by all accounts, his mother rarely saw or thought of, describes these goings on as "a magnificent folly," a struggle for "the right to love, both men and women." But Vita herself saw that the whole thing was fantasy, not liberation. Her happiest times with Violet, she writes with horror, were spent striding the Paris boulevards dressed up as a war veteran named Julian. She wrote the memoir, she says, hoping to encourage more candor about "normal but illicit relations" and assumes that the sexes will eventually become "more nearly merged" as "centuries go on." Vita never commends homosexuality. What she urged was a civilized, scientific examination of "dual personality.

Darling, she is evil and I am not evil." Harold finally got around to writing in one of the letters that most fortified Vita. She, too, saw the crisis in terms of her "violent and vicious" side ranged against the "purity, simplicity and faith" of "my house, my garden, my fields and Harold." In 1920 she came back to him for good. Harold won out because Vita needed an "anchor. Thenceforth Harold would be her fellow gardener, the custodian of an almost medieval little world and her "playmate," as she always put it, meaning. however, nothing carnal by the phrase Indeed, one of the most revealing moments in the book comes when Nigel Nicolson notes that at the absolute height of the affair with Violet, fleshly passion was forgotten as the two Nic-

olsons exultantly discovered "that Bodiam Castle, the shell of which rises

from the Sussex Weald, was for sale. After their reunion. Vita continued to have sporadic escapades and Harold to smile upon them. One, with Virginia Woolf, produced the latter's most engaging book. Orlando, a kind of historical fantasy a clef about Vita, Violet and Harold. In it, an English noble of indeterminate gender falls in love with a treacherous vixen, then chooses a marriage based on companionship rather than passion. Feminist Virginia Woolf mocked the marriage, suggesting that Vita fell into bondage to the necessary evil of husbands thus sacrificing the potency of the Sackvilles. Harold knew better; so, in her tower room, did Vita. and so will anyone who reads Portrait of a Marriage with the proper sympathy and irreverence. S.L. Parmacek





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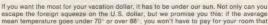
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Presidents and Precedents

BOOKS

who MAKES WAR by SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS 300 pages, Morrow, \$8.95.

Among the many lessons to be learned from the tragedy of Vict Nam, none is more compelling than the need for a U.S. debate on how to control the power of the President to wage war. The Chief Executive must be free to respond control the power of the President to wage war. The way to be the control that the power of the President to wage war. The way that the power of the President to wage war. The wage was the power of the President to wage war. The wage was the power of the President to wage was the power of the power of the power of the President was the power of the President to wage war. The power of the President to wage was a power of the President t



SENATOR JACOB JAVITS OF NEW YORK Analogies from history.

to "declare war." If this could be worked out practically, an increasing number of political scientists and elected officials now argue, Congress might also find a way to prevent Presidents from waging undeclared wars.

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Javis' book notes a steady erosion in the congressional power. In 1793 George Washington issued a Neutrality Proclamation during a congressional recess, thus unilaterally withdrawing the U.S. from any involvement in revolutionary France's fight with Britain in the face of great popular support for the nation's first ally. Thomas Jefferson secretly schemed to enlarge the Navy's

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steak; and David Bakas, head bartender, Butch McGuire's. The competition will be held in front of a live audience at noon on Dec. 6 in The Ninety-Fitth, the restaurant at the top of the John Hancock Building. Sportscaster Harry Caray will give the shot-by-shot description.

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BOOKS

operations in the Barbary wars. President James Polk's reckless acquiescence to annexation fever during the Mexican War created dissent in Congress and among non-frontier voters that, in Javits' view, stood "unequaled until the war in Viet Nam.

Such early meddling with congressional power bears little direct relation to Lyndon Johnson's massive intervention in Viet Nam as the Chief Executive of a superpower. The point is that the precedents for presidential activism and congressional passivity were gradually established by many men. In fact, F.D.R., the man who created what many historians now call the "imperial presidency," was to cite the Barbary wars as a constitutional defense for his undeclared war against Nazi U-boats in the Atlantic just before World War II. It has been argued that Roosevelt's early brand of brinkmanship was farsighted brilliance-because it helped prepare the U.S. for a necessary war with Hitler. None of F.D.R.'s successors, however, have been willing to give up the enormous power he acquired as the only President to preside over a global war Javits' reluctant solution is the war

power bill, which has been twice submitted to Congress (the last time it passed both houses, only to be vetoed by the President a fortnight ago). The bill would require a President to obtain congressional approval for his action within 60 days of committing U.S. troops to any hostilities. In Who Makes War, Javits spends too little time examining his bill and its possible effects on U.S. foreign policy. It is those considerations -rather than historical precedent -that might eventually attract enough votes in Congress for some sort of war power bill to become law. Javits has built a solid historical case, though, that wars are too important to be left solely to the

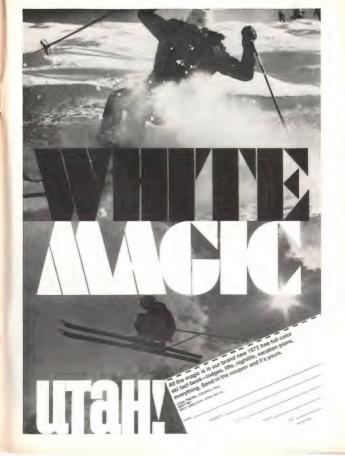
Commander in Chief. William Doerner

Helpless Giant

COME NINEVEH, COME TYRE by ALLEN DRURY 481 pages. Doubleday. \$8.95.

Long ago, in the sane dull Washington of 1958. Journalist Allen Drury wrote his first novel-the one for which he is remembered-Advise and Consent That was a blowsy, likable, jump-allover-you book, about a Senate battle against confirmation of a Secretary of State; about a band of stalwart lawmakers, including one Senator being blackmailed for homosexuality; about a society hostess, and so on. It made a great read. It won Drury the Pulitzer Prize. which he even perhaps deserved: he had had the energy to people a big novel with a lot of boldly drawn characters and keep them moving through incidents and operatic set pieces. Beyond that, he was a man of sense and rugged principle-though his heroes all seemed to employ the same turgid speechwriter

Then history began to play tricks on



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Land arrangement prices range from \$169-\$234 for a full week at Les Diablerets, for instance, which assures members a first-class room with private bath, two delicious meals a day, and many other extras (airfare additional, of course). Just about anything else you may want will probably be in the Carryon Ski Package. Which, at only \$25, shouldn't be too hard to take



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Say"Bor-zoy"dry.

BOOKS

Allen Drury. The U-2 incident and Khrushchev banging his shoe. First moves into Viet Nam. Civil rights in the South. In the 1962 sequel to Advise and Consent. Drury tried to keep up. He escalated his story into a counterinsurgency war in Central Africa, coupled with radical attempts to exploit racial strife in the U.S. He also moved his senatorial heroes into the still windier forum of the United Nations. But these days no writer should play "Can You Top This?" with history

Come Nineveh, Come Tyre is the fifth and penultimate novel in what the author calls the Advise and Consent series. Escalation has continued. Nothing less than the destruction of the American republic, and its transformation into a totalitarian dictatorship, is this book's story. It includes the assassination of a presidential candidate, the suicides of a President and a Vice President, and an incipient bloodless takeover of the U.S. by Russia. Drury's political principles have hardened into sclerotic pieties. Few would argue that the Soviet Union could never be tempted into acting out her ancient ambitions, or that U.S. military strength and civil concord are not important to keeping the peace and preserving the Constitution. But Drury finished his novel in February-and his tory, that heartless bitch, has stood him up again, with the Watergate investigations and the Agnew scandal. Characters more fascinating, events more crowded, a conspiracy against the Constitution far more plausible than anything Drury has invented. It is not Drury's country that is a helpless giant, after all. It is his novel. . Horace Judson

Best Sellers

1-The Honorary Consul. Greene (1 last week)

2-World Without End, Amen,

Breslin (3) 3-The First Deadly Sin, Sanders (4)

4-The Hollow Hills, Stewart (2) 5-The Salamander, West (6)

6-The Billion Dollar Sure Thing, Erdmon (5)

7-North Dallas Forty, Gent (7) 8-Harvest Home, Tryon (8) 9-Once Is Not Enough, Susann (9)

10-Breakfast of Champions. Vonnegut (10) NONFICTION

1-How to Be Your Own Best Friend, Newman & Berkowitz (1)

2-The Joy of Sex, Comfort (2) The Onion Field, Wambaugh (4)

5-Portrait of a Marriage, 6-In One Era and Out the Other,

Upstairs at the White House,

8-Economics and the Public Purpose, Galbraith (9)
9-The Making of the President
1972, White (5)
10-Alistair Cooke's America,

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THE THEATER

Jigsaw Puzzle

VERONICA'S ROOM

In one sort of suspense thriller, the audience is let in on a secret that the characters do not know. In another, the characters gosses some piece of knowledge that the audience is in the dark about. Inadventently, Ira Levin has written a mystery in which his characters seem to know something that has eludiently the control of the characters of the cha

ond act. Result: frustration.
Despite its ultimate failure, the play
is not badly written, and an air of expectancy, abetted by expert performances,
hovers over it. A girl (Regina Baff) and a
boy (Kipp Osborne) out on their first



CAST OF VERONICA'S ROOM Secret eludes playwright.

date are lured to a musty mansion in a Boston suburb by a middle-aged man and wife (Eileen Heckart and Arthur Kennedy) who act as caretakers of the estate. There the girl is slyly coaxed into impersonating an invalid named Veronica in a dress of 1935 vintage

What happens to the girl is, understandably. the reviewer's secret. One flaw that may safely be mentioned is that while the caretakers uy in every way to convince the girl that the time is 1935 and not 1973, they never success (If the girl plausibly believed that she was losing her mind. the play might have achieved some of the tingling suspense.

of Gaslight
Playwright Levin develops the
weirdness of his characters at the expense of their motivations. Thus incest,
necrophilia and schizophrenic identity
shifts enter the picture without clarifying it. This is a jigsaw puzzle with too
many pieces.

#1.E. Kolema

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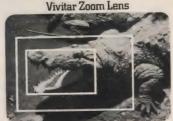
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Acts of Man, Not God

Rampaging floods in India and Pakistan. A devastating drought in Africa. The disappearance of fish off the coast of Peru. These recent, widely reported phenomena all have something in common. Though they were triggered by nature, their magnitude was increased disastrousty by man's trying to expand his food production without considering the ecological sides effects.

On the Indian subcontinent residents of the Himalayan foothlish have been chopping down trees at a prodigious rate to get more cropland for the growing population. The deforestation was particularly apparent to Economist Lester R. Brown, an agricultural specialist with the Overseas Development Council in Washington, who has worked periodically in India for 20 years.

Brown found that the once forested areas in the foothills where the Indus. the Ganges and the other major river systems originate had been "heavily cleared." That brought disaster in August and September, when the subcontinent was hit by the heaviest monsoon rains in decades. "Upstream," Brown explains. "the forests that used to slow down and absorb water runoff were no longer there. The rate of runoff into rivers was therefore much faster." Thus rainfall that caused moderate flooding 20 years ago, this year inundated millions of acres of croplands in six Indian states and southern Pakistan.

Terrible Mistokes. In Africa, a five-year drought has parched the 2.600 mile-long "savannah belt," just south of the Sahara Desert. As a result, large portions of six African nations—Senegal, Mauritainia. Upper Volta, Malit, Chanda Aliger—now subsist mainly on international contributions of food (Thu. Sept. 3). Although man cannot be

blamed for the lack of rain, a recent study by the U.S. Agency for International Development reports that the Africans' efforts to gain a better living from the potentially productive land have made a bad situation much worse.

Beause the semiarid region is cologically fragile, reports AID, mittakes in the use of soil, water and vegetation are magnified. Trees have been do down for fuel; savannah grass has been replaced by seath has been squandered Mort damaging of all, the inhabitants have allowed their huge herds of livestock to denude the land through overgrazing. These practices, combined with the drought. In allowed the Sahara to creep southward—in some places, says creeps southward—in some places, says

ADD by 'as much as 30 miles a year. Pen's loss is in the sea, where the cold waters of the Peru tor Humbodid Current once teemed with anchovies. Every year millions of tons of the sar-dimelike fish were caught and good abrond as a high-protein feed for live-stock and poultry. About every seven years, though, the anchory bow when a mysterious flow of warm water overrode the cold current, causing the fish to dis-

appear temporarily.
When the warm current returned late in 1971, however, it lingered on import han a year Result: the fish catch plummeted, and the Peruvian government banned most fishing last year to give the anchovies a chance to proliferate again. But when the fact cat again but when the force of the properties o

The virtual disappearance of the anchovies did not result entirely from the errant current, according to Fisheries Research Adviser C P. Idyll. Writing in Scientific American. he places much of the blame on human greed U.N. and Peruvian experts had long recommend ed that the falling into the had been commend to the commendation of the properties of the commendation of the commendation of the commendation of the commendation of properties of the commendation of properties of the commendation of properties properties of properties properties

Fortunately, there are solutions to these man-made disasters. India and Pakistan can, like China and Algeria. reforest their hills. The sub-Saharan nations of Africa can, with massive international help, copy the U.S.'s 1930s soil conservation program and reclaim their land. If the anchovies do return in great numbers, the Peruvians can strictly limit the yearly catch and still get fine harvests. But clearly, the first lesson is to understand-and respect-basic ecological realities. As Economist Lester Brown puts it: "If we are to get the food we need. we cannot out more stress on nature than she can stand."

Cleaning Up Coal Smoke

Though the U.S. is running short of oil and natural gas, it has enough coal to last for hundreds of years. But environmental laws forbid burning much of the nation's available coal because it contains large quantities of sulfur. When contains large quantities of sulfur. When of sulfur divided (SQ), an invisible gas that kills plants, corrodes metals and insures human health.

jures human health Now General Motors reports a new process that reduces SO; emissions by 90%. Tested successfully for 14 months in a pilot installation at the Chevrolet plant in Parma, Ohio, GM's process starts with a trap to take dust particles out of coal smoke. Then the gases are routed into a device called a scrubber. where they bubble through a causticsoda solution: chemical reaction between the SO; and the soda produces two salts, sodium sulfite and sodium sulfate, that are pumped from the scrubher in waste liquids into tanks. There, lime and calcium carbonate are added. The resulting calcium salts settle to the bottom of the tanks, are removed and buried as safe landfill. The remaining liquid flows into another tank where it is treated with chemicals to create more caustic-soda solution for the scrubber -and the process begins anew.

GM is expanding its system to serve the entire Chevrolet-Parma plant. That will cost \$3,000,000. But the process will pay for itself by allowing GM—or any other industrial user—to burn the cheapest and most abundant of all fuels: high-sulfur coal

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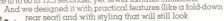
At some point, almost everyone forgot what a car should be.

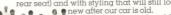
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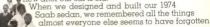
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